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SCOTT, Ph.D.

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of the Scott Company, Associate
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President of the National
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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADVERTISING IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

A SIMPLE EXPOSITION OF
THE PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY
IN THEIR RELATION TO
SUCCESSFUL ADVERTISING

By

WALTER DILL SCOTT, PH.D.

Professor of Applied Psychology and Director of the Psychological Laboratory,
Northwestern University; President of the Scott Company, Associate
Director of the Bureau of Salesmanship Research, Carnegie Insti-
tute of Technology, Former President of the National
Association of Advertising Teachers, Colonel, U.S.R.;

Author of

"The Psychology of Public Speaking,"
"Increasing Human Efficiency in Business,"
"Influencing Men in Business."



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THE AUTHOR RESPECTFULLY DEDICATES THIS VOLUME TO THAT
INCREASING NUMBER OF AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN WHO
SUCCESSFULLY APPLY SCIENCE WHERE THEIR PREDECESSORS
WERE CONFINED TO CUSTOM.

STANFORD

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I

INTRODUCTION

SOME good "doctoring" was done when men "picked up" their knowledge of medicine from their practice. To-day the state laws require that every physician shall have a basis of theory for his practical knowledge. He must know the exact chemical constituents of the drugs used. He must know the anatomy and the physiology of the human organism. He must be a theoretical man before he can be a practical one. If the laws did not prohibit it, he might pick up a good deal in actual experience and might do a good deal of excellent work. The state laws, however, will not allow us to run chances with such people.

We would not call upon an architect to construct a modern office building unless he knew something of the theory of architecture. We would not call upon a lawyer to defend us before the courts unless he knew something of the theory of law. Some states and cities require teachers to pass examinations on the theory of teaching before they are allowed to give instruction.

In this day and generation we are not afraid of theories, systems, ideals, and imagination. What we do avoid is chance, luck, haphazard undertakings, parrot or rule-of-thumb action, and the like. We may be willing to decide on unimportant things by instinct or by the flipping of a coin, but when it comes to the serious things of life we want to know that we are trusting to something more than mere chance.

Advertising is a serious thing with the business man

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of to-day. It is estimated that the business men of the United States are spending \$800,000,000 a year in printed forms of advertising. Furthermore one authority claims that seventy-five per cent. of all this is unprofitable. Every business man is anxious that no part of these unprofitable advertisements shall fall to his lot. The enormity of the expense, the keenness of competition, and the great liability of failure have awakened the advertising world to the pressing need for some basis of assurance in its hazardous undertakings.

I have attempted to read broadly on the subject of advertising; I have taken an active part in various kinds of advertising; I have been in intimate contact with manufacturers, salesmen, publishers, professional advertisers, etc., and in all that I have read, and in all my conversations, I have never seen or heard any reference to anything except psychology which could furnish a stable foundation for a theory of advertising. Nothing else is ever suggested as a possibility. Ordinarily the business man does not realize that he means psychology when he says that he "must know his customers' wants—what will catch their attention, what will impress them and lead them to buy," etc. In all these expressions he is saying that he must be a psychologist. He is talking about the minds of his customers, and psychology is nothing but a stubborn and systematic attempt to understand and explain the workings of the minds of these very people. In *Printers' Ink* for October, 1895, appeared the following editorial:

Probably when we are a little more enlightened, the advertising writer, like the teacher, will study psychology. For, however diverse their occupation may at first sight appear, the advertising writer and the teacher have one great object in common—to influence the human mind. The teacher has a

scientific foundation for his work in that direction, but the advertising writer is really also a psychologist. Human nature is a great factor in advertising success, and he who writes advertisements without reference to it is apt to find that he has reckoned without his host.

In *Publicity*, March, 1901, appeared an article which is even more suggestive than the editorial in *Printers' Ink*. The following is a quotation from that article:

The time is not far away when the advertising writer will find out the inestimable benefits of a knowledge of psychology. The preparation of copy has usually followed the instincts rather than the analytical functions. An advertisement has been written to describe the articles which it was wished to place before the reader; a bit of cleverness, an attractive cut, or some other catchy device has been used, with the hope that the hit or miss ratio could be made as favorable as possible. / 91101

But the future must needs be full of better methods than these to make advertising advance with the same rapidity as it has during the latter part of the last century. And this will come through a closer knowledge of the psychological composition of the mind. The so-called "laws of human nature" will then be called successful psychologies, and the successful advertisers will be likewise termed psychological advertisers. ✓

The mere mention of psychological terms habit, will, conception, discrimination, association, memory, imagination and perception, reason, emotion, instinct, and will should create a flood of new thought that should appeal to every advanced consumer of advertising space.

Previous to the appearance of this article (March, 1901) there had been no attempt to present psychology to the business world in a usable form. So far as the advertiser could see all psychologies were written with a purely theoretical end in view. They contained a great amount of technical material devoid of interest to the layman who struggled through the pages. This condition made it quite difficult for the business man to extract that part of the subject which was of value to him.

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Several of the leading advertising magazines and advertising agencies sought to father a movement which would result in such a presentation of the subject of psychology that it would be of use to the intelligent and practical advertiser. These efforts on the part of the advertisers were successful in stimulating several professional psychologists to co-operate with practical advertisers in applying psychology to advertising. Psychological laboratories were fitted up to make various tests upon advertisements. Elaborate investigations were undertaken and carried through to a successful issue. Psychologists turned to the study of advertising in all its phases while, on the other hand, intelligent and successful advertisers began to devote attention to a systematic study of psychology. Investigators in the various parts of the country and among different classes of society united in their efforts to solve some of the knotty problems which are ever before the business man who desires publicity for his commodity. Addresses were made before advertising clubs upon the specific topic of the psychology of advertising. The leading advertising journals in America and Europe sought and published articles on the subject.

The changed attitude of the advertising world became apparent in a few years. As typical of this change should be considered such statements as the following, taken from *Printers' Ink*, the issue of July 24, 1907:

“Scientific advertising follows the laws of psychology. The successful advertiser, either personally or through his advertising department, *must* carefully study psychology. He *must* understand how the human mind acts. He *must* know what repels and what attracts. He *must* know what will create an interest and what will fall flat. . . . He *must* be a student of human

nature, and he *must* know the laws of the human mind." Although italics were not used in the original, the word "must" is here put in italics to draw attention to the actual emphasis used by the author. In articles appearing on the subject before the last few years, all persons had spoken of the study of psychology as something which might be brought about in the future. At the present time the writers are asserting that the successful advertiser *must* study psychology and that he *must* do it at once. The Bibliography at the end of this volume contains the names of the important contributions made to the psychology of advertising during the last twenty-four years.

Although the attitude of the advertising world has changed and even though much has been done to present psychology in a helpful form to the advertisers, the work of the psychologist is not yet available to the business world because the material has not been presented in any one accessible place. Contributions are scattered through the files of a score of American and European publications. Some articles appearing under this head are of minor significance, while others are so important that they should be collected in a place and form such that they would be available to the largest possible number of readers. The psychology of advertising has reached a stage in its development where all that has thus far been accomplished should be reconsidered. The worthless should be discarded and the valuable brought out into due prominence in systematic arrangement. In view of this condition of affairs the author has assumed the pleasing task of systematizing the subject of the psychology of advertising and of presenting it in such a form that it will be of distinct practical value to all who are interested in business promotion.

II

PERCEPTION

BETWEEN our minds and bodies there is the closest possible relationship. The basis of this relationship is the nervous system. For our present purposes the nervous system may be thought of as consisting of three parts: the brain, the nerve endings (sense organs), and the fibers connecting the brain to these nerve endings. The brain fills the skull and is about one-fortieth of the weight of the entire body. The nerve endings are found in the so-called sense organs, that is, the eyes, the nose, the mouth, the ears, and the skin, and also in the joints and muscles. The nerve fibers are white, threadlike bands, which connect each nerve ending with a particular part of the brain, *e.g.*, the optic nerve is such a bundle of nerve fibers and it connects the various nerve endings in the eye with specific portions of the back part of the brain. The function of the nervous system may be likened to the transmitter, connecting wire, and receiver of a telephone. The similarity is striking in the case of all the nerve endings, but particularly so in the case of the ear. If air waves of a certain quality and of sufficient intensity strike against the transmitter of a telephone, electric currents are set up. They are propagated along the line till they reach the receiver. Here they reassume the form of air waves, and when heard are what we call *sound*. If air waves, vibrating from fourteen to forty thousand times a second, strike against our ear, a corresponding wave is

propagated along the auditory nerve to the brain, where by some unknown process a sensation of sound is awakened which corresponds to the air wave. It will be sufficient to regard this and all other sensations as the direct result of the contact of the outer world with our nerve endings and particularly with our sense organs. The more intense the contact the more intense the sensation, and the quality of the sensation changes with the quality of the contact.

The first time a child opens its eyes the ether waves strike against the retina in which the nerve endings are located. Here a current is set up which is propagated to the brain. Then a *pure sensation* of sight occurs. The nature of the sensation depends entirely on the nature of the light and the current which it sets up. There is no recognition of the light, there is no comparison of it with other sensations, and no fusing of it into former sensations. This is the only really *pure* sensation of sight which the child will ever have, for its next sensation of sight will be seen in relation to the first sensation. It would be affirming too much to say that the child recognizes or compares this second sensation, but it is quite certain that this second sensation is to a very limited degree modified because of the preceding one. The second experience is added to from the previous one and so is not a pure sensation, but is a *perception*. A perception is a fusion of sensations with former experiences and embraces comparison, recognition, etc. When the term "perception" is used, special reference is intended to the *sensation* or *sensations* which are received through the sense organs and which enter into the total product called a perception. In the case of a young child, perceptions are largely sensational, while former experiences play a small part.

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When we come into contact with new objects or come into new experiences, we depend upon sensations to form a large part of our perceptions, and the former experiences add relatively a small part to the total product. The first time we saw an orange, we saw it merely as an object of a particular color. Then we touched it, and our perception of it became the perception of an object with a particular color and a particular shape and touch. Then we tasted and smelt it, and each of these new sensations added a new element to our perception. Now, as we see an orange in the distance, we perceive it as an object having a certain color, touch, taste, odor, weight, etc. The only *sensation* that we have, as the orange is in the distance, is one of sight, but our *perception* contains these other elements which we add from our former experience. Little by little the elements added to perception by sensation decrease and the elements added by former experience increase till we can get a good perception of an orange even if it is at a great distance from us and if it is in poor light. The process continues and we begin to use symbols for the object and our perceptions are of symbols rather than of objects. One of the first symbols to be perceived is the spoken word, later the picture, and then the printed word. The spoken word "orange" becomes associated with the sight, touch, taste, etc., of the fruit. Whenever we hear the word "orange" we immediately think of the fruit with its special appearance, touch, taste, etc. Our awareness of the absent object is called an "idea," awareness of objects present to the senses is called a "perception." The symbol has no *symbolic* signification, and becomes the object of the sensation itself unless it typifies to the persons something which they have met in their

former experience. Thus a Chinese letter is to me no symbol, but is a group of lines. As I look at it I receive the same sensation that a Chinaman does, but the perception is different because he adds more from his former experience than I do. The letter awakens in his mind an idea of some object or event which is symbolized by the letter. The letter awakens in my mind no idea because it has not been associated in my experience with any object or event.

A cartoon of Woodrow Wilson awakens in me an idea of the man rather than a perception of the few curved and straight lines composing the symbolic cartoon.

The distinction between the terms "perception" and "idea" is very small. If an orange is before me, I *perceive* the orange. If a symbol of an orange is before me, I may merely perceive the symbol that is present or the symbol may awaken in my mind an *idea* of the absent orange.

Whether we are thinking of present or absent objects,—whether our thought is in the form of perceptions or of ideas,—it is certain that a large part of our thinking is determined by the sensations which come to us through eye and ear, and the other sense organs. We first become acquainted with objects through the sensations which we receive from them, and when we think of them afterward we think in terms of sensations. If I should try to learn about a new kind of fruit which was discovered in Africa, I could acquire the knowledge of it in two different ways: I could secure some of the fruit and then receive all the sensations from it possible. I would look at it, touch it, lift it, smell it, bite it, taste it. This would be the best way to learn of it. If this were impossible I might

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read descriptions and see pictures of it and then I would think of it (have ideas of it) in terms of touch, weight, smell, and taste which were taken from former experiences in which similar objects were present to my senses. Whether we think by means of perceptions or by means of ideas, the original *material of thought* and the *forms of thought* come to us in sensations.

The original, easiest, and surest method of acquiring knowledge is through perceptions, in which the sensations play a leading part. In many instances the object of thought cannot be present to the senses and, furthermore, the processes of thought are made more rapid by substituting symbols for the original. Thus, early in the history of the race, a spoken language was developed in which spoken words were symbols for objects of thought. Later, a pictorial writing was invented in which crude portraits were made to symbolize objects. The latest products of civilized humanity in this direction are, first, more perfect portraits and, second, a form of printed language in which the original symbolic spoken word is represented by a symbol. This second form is the most convenient and is the one in ordinary use, but it should be observed that our printed words are nothing but symbols of symbols. The printed word is an uninteresting thing in itself and is only used because it assists perception on account of its simplicity and ease of manipulation. It is easy to describe a scene or a commodity and to reduce the description to printed form that will be accessible to thousands. It would be extremely difficult to deliver the scene and the commodity directly to these same people. The description and illustration are, however, not so clear, distinct, and interesting as is the original thing described. The great danger with the printed

symbol is that it will lose in perspicuity and interest what it gains in convenience. The printed word has almost no interest for us in itself. It becomes interesting only in so far as it symbolizes interesting things to us. The more the printed page has to say and the easier it is for us to interpret it, the more interesting it becomes.

Whether fortunately or unfortunately, the advertiser is compelled to rely on symbols in exploiting what he has to offer. He cannot, ordinarily, provide the possible customer with that which he has to offer and thus allow him to become acquainted with the goods in the normal and direct way. He is compelled to substitute the symbol for the thing symbolized. He has a choice between two kinds of symbols—printed words and pictorial illustrations.

The first form of writing was picture writing, but was abandoned because it was not so convenient as are the phonetic characters now in use. Picture writing could not be written or read so easily and quickly as the writing in the characters now in use and it was therefore discarded. According to the standard of ease of interpretation, all forms of type must be judged. Type forms must not be regarded as a production of artistic demands, but as a product of the demands of convenience. Hundreds of styles of "artistic type" have been brought forth, but they have not remained in use, for they are confusing to the eye and are not artistic in the full sense of the term. Those forms of type and of illustration best perform their proper functions which are so easy of interpretation that they are not noticed at all. There is no advantage in emphasizing the symbol, but there is a great advantage in emphasizing the thing symbolized. In using printed forms, the adver-

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tiser supplies a very small part to the total idea which he desires to create, and he should therefore make this little mean as much as possible.

A series of experiments were carried on to determine whether white or black type made the more attractive display in magazine advertisements. Experiments were made with over five hundred persons. The background for the white type was gray in some cases, but in most cases it was black. The results show that the ordinary reader is more likely to notice display type which is black than a display type of the same sort which is white.

A series of laboratory experiments were made on the same subject. Specially prepared pages were shown for one-seventh of a second. On part of the sheets black letters on white background and white letters on black background were shown. In other cases one half of the sheet had a black background, with words in white type, and the other half of the sheet had a white background with words in black type. Scores of cards were constructed in which all the possible combinations of white and black were made and shown to a number of persons for such a short space of time that no one could perceive all there was on any sheet. Under these circumstances the subjects saw what first attracted their attention and what was the easiest to perceive. The final results showed that the black letters on a white background were seen oftener than the white type on a black background.

It seems quite certain that, other things being equal, those advertisements will be the most often read which are printed in type which is the most easily read. The difference in the appearance of the type in many cases may be so small that even persons experienced in the

choosing of type may not be able to tell which one is the more legible, and yet the difference in their values may be great enough to make it a matter of importance to the advertiser as to which type he shall use.

If the matter of the proper use of type is of importance to the advertiser, it is even more important that he should make a wise use of the illustration, which is the second form of symbol at his disposal.

The illustration is frequently used merely as a means of attracting attention, and its function as a symbolic illustration is disregarded. In a few cases this may be wise and even necessary, but when we consider the value of an illustration as a symbol, we are surprised that illustrations are not used more extensively as well as more judiciously. The first form of writing, as stated above, was picture writing, and the most simple and direct form of graphic representation is through the picture and not through the printed word. At a single glance we can usually read about four words; that is to say, the width of perception for printed words is about four. At a single glance at an illustration we can see as much as could be told in a whole page of printed matter. The width of perception for illustrations is very much more extensive than it is for printed forms of expression.

The illustration may perform either one or both of two functions. It may be a mere picture used to attract attention or it may be an "illustration" and a real aid to perception by assisting the text to tell the story which is to be presented. In the first case it would be called an irrelevant illustration; in the second case it is relevant. There have been several investigations carried on to determine the relative attention

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value of relevant and irrelevant illustrations. Although the results thus far reached are not so decisive as might be desired, yet it seems certain that the attention value of relevant illustrations is greater than had been supposed and that the irrelevant "picture" is frequently not so potent in attracting attention as a relevant illustration would be. Under these circumstances it seems that, in general, the illustration in an advertisement should have the double function of attracting attention and assisting perception. Which one of these functions is the more important might be a profitable question for discussion, but when these two functions can be united in the same illustration, its value is enhanced twofold. Irrelevant illustrations are produced merely because they are supposed to attract attention, when in reality they may attract the attention of no one except the person who designed them and of the unfortunate man who has to pay for them. Similarly there are many illustrations produced and inserted in advertisements because they are supposed to assist the perception. They are supposed to tell the story of the goods advertised and to be a form of argumentation. The designer of the illustration and one familiar with the goods knows what the picture stands for, and so for him it is a symbol of the goods and tells the story of the special advantages of the goods. To one unacquainted with the illustration and with the goods advertised, the illustration is no illustration at all.

When we want to teach a child the letters of the alphabet, we do not secure some "sketchy" and artistic looking letters, but we secure those which are simple in outline and of a large size. We choose those which make a very decided sensation, for in that way we help determine the perception. When the child becomes

more familiar with the alphabet, he can read small letters and those which are not printed so plainly. In forming perceptions there must at first be a large element furnished by sensation, whether the perception be formed from an object directly or indirectly from a symbol. Those who forget this principle are likely to construct illustrations which do not illustrate. Their symbols are only symbols for those who are well acquainted with the goods advertised. As an example of this sort of illustrations we reproduce herewith an illustration from magazine advertising.



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This advertisement for F. P. C. wax (No. 1) seems to be an attempt to tell a great deal about the goods by means of an illustration. It took me some time to translate it, and after I had interpreted it as far as possible, I showed it to some ladies who were magazine readers. None of them had ever taken the pains to figure it out. One of them thought that it was an advertisement of Bibles. When my attention was called to it, I saw the resemblance between the cut as a whole and the cover of an ordinary Bible. The white space is evidently intended to look like the bottom of an iron and the border containing the words "F. P. C. Wax" is intended for a cut of a stick of the wax. None of the ladies had interpreted the cut in that way, but when their attention was called to it, they agreed with me that that was probably what the "artist" had intended. We were unable to interpret the white dots and the heavy black border. To those familiar with the advertisement the sensation aroused by the cut is sufficient to produce the desired perception. For all others the sensation is not sufficient to call up the necessary elements to complete the perception and it has no more meaning than a Chinese puzzle. It has nothing which it seems to be trying to tell to those who turn over the pages of the magazine, and so does not attract their attention. We notice those illustrations which have something to say and say it plainly. We disregard in general those things which do not awaken in us a perception. The sensation which does not embody itself into a perception is of such little interest to us that we pay no attention to it at all.

The advertiser desires to produce certain perceptions and ideas in the minds of the possible customers. The material means with which he may accomplish

this end are printed words and illustrations, which in the first instance awaken sensations; these in turn embody themselves into perceptions and ideas. These sensations seem so unimportant that they are frequently

F. P. C. WAX

A specially imported wax, chemically treated, so that when it is once rubbed over the iron, the latter is cleaned as if by magic. It prevents all odor, giving the work that beautiful silky polish sought for by the laundress.





NOT ONLY THE BEST BUT THE MOST ECONOMICAL

WHY?

Because each fine cut stick of F. P. C. Wax is in an automatic wooden holder, which keeps it from dripping; it never loses shape, and is good until the last particle of wax is used. The handle saves your fingers from burns.

If your grocer tries to substitute the old wax that spoils your laundry and your clothes, send us cents for two sticks to the

FLAME PROOF COMPANY, - NEW YORK

No. 2

forgotten and the place which they are to take in forming the desired perceptions and ideas is disregarded.

This second advertisement of F. P. C. wax (No. 2) appeared several months later than the one given above, and is inserted here to illustrate how an advertisement may be improved in the particular point under discussion. The newer cut is really an illustration. It

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helps perception by giving a sensation which is more decided and more easily interpreted. It furthermore attracts attention and tells the story better than could be done by any text.

The advertiser is so familiar with what he has to offer that he cannot appreciate the difficulty the public has in getting a clear and complete perception by means of his advertisements of the goods advertised. It is almost impossible to err on the side of clearness. A sketchy illustration may appear artistic to the designer, but there is danger that it will be regarded as meaningless scrawls by the laity, and so it will not receive a second thought from them. The text and the illustration should, first of all, be clear and should in every way possible assist the mind of the possible customer in forming a correct idea of the goods being exploited.

III

APPERCEPTION

ANATOMY is the science which divides the human body into its constituent parts, and is a completed science when it has all of these parts correctly described and labeled. Physiology is the science which describes and explains the different functions of the human body. It supplements anatomy by showing the function of each of the bones, muscles, and organs, and by showing their mutual relations. In anatomy we divide the body into distinct divisions, and in physiology we discover different functions. We often try to think of mind after the analogy of the body, and by so doing are led into confusion. The attempt has been made to divide the mind into a definite number of separate faculties (anatomy). The function of each faculty has been described as something quite different from the other faculties, and an attempt was made to define these faculties exactly and to describe their functions completely (physiology). The attempt has failed and has been abandoned. The mind is not a bundle of faculties. It is not composed of memory, reason, association, etc., but it is a unit which remembers, reasons, feels, etc. No one function is carried on to the exclusion of all others at any one time. During all of its conscious existence the mind feels, knows, wills, etc., but at certain times it is employed in reasoning more than at others, and at one time it may be feeling more intensely than at others, but no one function ever totally occupies the field.

When the mind recognizes an event as having occurred in the past, it is said to remember, but feeling, attention, and association of ideas may have entered into this process of memory. No one mental process is a thing existing apart and independent of other processes. The anatomical method can never be applied to the mind. The functions of the mind are not independent activities of the mind, but in every function memory, perception, suggestion, and many other functions play a more or less important part.

We have no "apperceiving" faculty which is to be distinguished from all other faculties, and which carries on an independent process. The mind does act in a particular and well-known manner, which we have called "apperception." The term has been used for two centuries, and is applied to a well-known process, or function, of the mind which is of great practical and theoretical importance. It includes sensations, perceptions, assimilation, association, recognition, feeling, will, attention, and other actions of the mind, and yet is a very simple and well-known process. It can best be understood if discussed and illustrated from its various aspects.

The first thing to be said about apperception is that it is the act of the mind by which perceptions and ideas become clear and distinct. I may look at my ink bottle on the middle of the table. I see it very clearly and distinctly. I can also see, at the same time, other objects on the table, and even some which are not on it at all. As long as I continue to look at the ink bottle the objects distant from the table are not visible. The ink bottle is very clear and the objects near it are comparatively so; those a few feet away are very indistinct or entirely invisible. I am said to apperceive the bottle,

but to perceive the more distant objects. Certain parts of the bottle are not noticed particularly, while some of the objects on the table stand out plainly. It is quite evident that "clearness" does not draw a set line between the various objects, but there are all grades of clearness, from the most clear to the most obscure. We feel that the mental process connected with the ink bottle and that connected with the other objects are different and yet there is an uninterrupted gradation from one to the other. When considered from this point of view apperception is simply an act of attention, for what we attend to becomes clear and distinct to us, while that which is not attended to remains indistinct. Furthermore, there are all degrees of attention. Certain things demand our greatest attention, while others are entirely disregarded. Most things, however, are of the intermediary class. We pay a certain amount of attention to them, but they might easily receive more or less. Some things catch our attention so slightly (are so slightly apperceived) that we are not aware that we have noticed them at all. I did not know that I had ever noticed the walls of the barber shop which I patronize, but as soon as I entered it recently I knew that changes had been made, and I missed certain details which I had frequently seen, but to which I had paid so little heed that they were merely perceived and could not be said to have been apperceived at all.

The second thing to remark about apperception is that it is more than mere attention. It is attention of a particular kind. Our attention to an object or event is an act of apperception if the attention is brought about by means of the relationship of this object or event to our previous experience. Apperception has been defined *as the bringing to bear what has been retained of past*

experience in such a way as to interpret, to give weight to the new experience. This aspect of apperception has been most clearly brought out in the following quotation from Dexter and Garlack:

"A child who has not learned any physiology, and who has not previously looked through a microscope, looks at a drop of blood under the microscope. He probably says that he sees *nothing*.

"Another child who has, we will suppose, studied botanical sections under the microscope, looks at the same drop of blood and says that he sees *some small round bodies*.

"A third child who has learned a little physiology, looks through the microscope, recognizes the small round bodies as corpuscles, notes that the majority are reddish, looks for and perhaps finds a white corpuscle, and so comes to the conclusion that it is *a drop of blood* that he sees.

"In the three instances everything is the same *except the children*. The differences in the results of the acts of observation must be due to the differences in the minds of the children. The reason that the third child saw more than the other two was that he was fitted by previous training to see more. In order that we may see a thing properly it is not sufficient that rays of light should come from the object to the eye and nerve vibrations travel along the optic nerve to the brain. The mind must be in a position to interpret, to understand these vibrations. To sensations coming from without the mind adds imagination (*i.e.*, image-making) working from within. This combination of action of object on mind and the reaction of mind on object is known as *apperception*."

The third thing to notice about the process of apper-

ception is that it increases our knowledge by gradually adding new elements to our previous store of experience. In the use of the microscope, as cited above, each child added to its store of knowledge in proportion to the amount of previous training which could be brought to bear at this point. The first child had had no previous training in this or in any related work, and so was unable to profit by this experience. He did not focus his eye correctly, and could not direct his attention to what the third child saw. An object, event, or situation which has no relation to our previous experience fails to attract our attention,—is not apperceived,—makes no impression on us, and adds nothing to our store of knowledge. Nothing is regarded worthy of our consideration which does not relate itself to our previous experience. In fact, we can imagine nothing which is out of relation to all our previous experiences. Things and events are only significant in so far as they signify relationships which we know. The slight difference between the letters "O" and "Q" is immediately noticed by us, but would not be seen by any one unfamiliar with our alphabet. There are many important characteristics about the Chinese alphabet which we never observe, because they mean nothing to us. They are unimportant for us because they do not unite themselves with our previous stock of ideas. We interpret all things by our own standards (our stock of ideas)—we observe only those things which have significance for us, we increase our store of ideas not by adding new and independent ones, but by uniting the old with the new. We are not capable of forming entirely new ideas, but must content ourselves with adding new elements to our stock in trade. All our so-called new ideas are composed very largely of old elements.

The practical importance of this subject for the advertiser is found in the three aspects of the process as discussed above. In the first place, some advertisements never stand out clearly and distinctly in the minds of the possible customers. We may turn over the pages of a magazine and see every advertisement there, but our seeing may be of the sort of those of whom it was said, "having eyes they see not." I frequently turn over the pages of publications and direct my eyes toward advertisements and hold them there long enough to have noticed all the striking characteristics of them, and yet in ten minutes afterward I do not know that these particular advertisements are in the publication at all. I had perceived them, but had not apperceived them. The designers of these advertisements had not been successful in concentrating my mind on any particular thing which had a special reference to my previous experience, and which would therefore be apperceived by me.

We cannot apperceive a large number of things at the same time. An advertisement which is constructed upon the principle that all parts of it should be attractive at the same time will so divide the attention that no part of it will stand out prominently, and so it will not be noticed at all. A superfluity of details should be strenuously guarded against in both the text and the illustration. If a single point of an advertisement is apperceived it serves as an opening wedge for the entire advertisement. If, however, there are too many details the attention may be so distracted that none of it will be apperceived, although it may all be seen (perceived). The things which we perceive do make a slight impression on us, but they are so unimportant in comparison with the things that we apperceive that we may almost disregard them entirely.

The second point for the advertiser to consider is that the apperception value (identical with attention value in this case) of the advertisement does not depend so much on what the reader receives from the advertisement, but what he adds to it. Your advertisement and all other printed matter is composed of a few straight lines and a few curved ones, of a few dots, and perhaps one or more colored surfaces. These, when seen, cause a sensation of sight, but that is the smallest part of the result of your advertisement. These visual sensations are immediately enforced by the previous experience of the reader. The value of your advertisement depends almost entirely on the number and kind of former experiences which it awakens. The advertisement is not a thing which contains within itself the reason for its existence. In and of itself it is perfectly worthless. *The aim of the advertisement is to call forth activity in the minds of its readers—and, it might be added, action of a particular sort.* The advertisement which is beautiful and pleasing to its designer, and which begets activity in his mind, may be perfectly worthless as an advertisement. The drop of blood in the microscope brought forth no activity on the part of the first child who looked at it, as cited above. The child had nothing in its former experience which was suggested by the appearance of the drop of blood, and so it was not interpreted and was not connected with the child's former life, and so made no impression on him. That which happened to the children in looking through the microscope happens every day to the readers of advertisements. The same advertisement will call forth different amounts of activity from different readers. Some advertisements have a meaning to those who are well acquainted with them, and to such they tell their story accurately and quickly.

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To some readers they tell a confused or erroneous story; to others they have nothing to tell at all. As an example of such advertisements we have reproduced the advertisement (No. 1) of Whitman's chocolates.



No. 1

This looks like a very neat advertisement, but it fails at the two crucial points—it neither attracts attention nor assists in forming a correct perception of the goods advertised. As a proof of this statement it is but necessary to refer to the result obtained with this advertisement in a series of tests recently made. The magazine

containing this advertisement was shown to 516 young people between the ages of ten and twenty-five. After they had looked at all the advertisements they were asked to write down all the advertisements which they had noticed and could remember. One girl remembered that she had seen an advertisement of candy, but could not remember whose it was or what the advertisement was. One boy remembered that "Whitman's candy" was advertised, but thought the advertisement had the picture of a lady eating a piece of candy. The first of the two probably referred to Huyler's advertisement (Huyler advertised in the same issue) and the second certainly confused the two advertisements. Besides these two none of the 516 persons noticed the advertisement sufficiently to remember that it was there at all. This second advertisement (No. 2) of Whitman's appeared in a later issue of the same magazine. I have made no tests of this advertisement, but feel sure that if the 516 had seen this instead of the other advertisement a very large per cent. of them would have noticed it and have remembered it. It attracts attention and tells more at a glance than could be told in many well-formed sentences. It would create a desire on the part of many of these young people to send for or to purchase a box of such desirable looking candy. It is an illustration which illustrates by helping perception, and it also attracts attention because it has something to tell.

The third thing for the advertiser to observe in connection with apperception is that advancement in knowledge is made by joining the new on to the old. The pedagogical maxim of advancing from the known to the unknown finds its justification here.

It is very difficult to get the public to think along a new line, because they cannot connect the new fact with

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their previous experience, *i.e.*, they cannot apperceive it. This makes it very difficult to introduce a new article on the market. Old firms find it difficult to introduce a new brand, and new firms find it difficult



No. 2

to get themselves noticed at all. Frequently firms have resorted to questionable means to get the public even to notice them. It seems to be impossible for them to get a hearing for the details of their propositions until they have let the public become familiar with their

names and know who they are. The promoters of Omega Oil have been severely criticised for their goose, but the goose has introduced them to the public, and now they are in a position to get a hearing and to present the arguments for their commodity. It is quite possible that the expense of keeping the goose before the public was an unnecessary luxury, but they have been wise in not advancing their argument faster than the public was willing to hear it. They have taken but one step at a time. They first let the public know that there was such a thing as Omega Oil, and they took great pains to make this new fact known, and in doing this they were acting in accordance with the principles of apperception. They first gave the public some experience of Omega Oil, and then tried to get the public to interpret their arguments in the light of that previous experience.

It is not always necessary or even wise to attempt to present all the arguments for a commodity at a single time. It is frequently wise to carry on an educational campaign and to present single arguments. In this way the mind of the possible customer is not crowded with a lot of new and disconnected facts, but each argument has time to be assimilated and to form a part of his experience, and is called up to strengthen and impress each succeeding argument.

In writing an advertisement the public to be reached must be carefully studied. In exploiting a new commodity the writer should ask himself what there is about his goods which will fall into "prepared soil" on the part of the reader. The reader must first be appealed to by something which he already knows, and thus activity on his part is awakened, and this activity may be made use of for presenting the new elements, which, if presented at first, would have met with no response

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- whatever. Nothing should be presented as something absolutely new, but as an improvement or substitute for something which is well known. The reader's interest can be best awakened by appealing to his past experiences.

IV

ILLUSIONS OF PERCEPTION

If there is anything in the world that we feel sure of, it is that our senses (eyes, ears, etc.) do not deceive us, but that they present the outside world to us just as it is. Some have been so impressed with the truthfulness of their senses that they have discredited all other sources of knowledge and are unwilling to accept anything as true which they cannot see. "Seeing is believing," and nothing is so convincing as our perceptions.

Many centuries ago it was discovered that under certain conditions even our senses deceived us. This discovery was emphasized and the certainty of any and all our knowledge was questioned till the extremest sort of skepticism prevailed. Such a condition was abnormal and transient, but it certainly is a great shock to us when we discover that under certain conditions our senses are not to be depended upon.

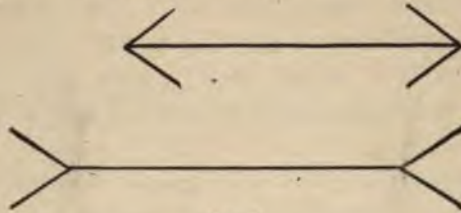
All the sense organs are the product of a long evolution in which the various organs were developed as instruments of communication by means of which we might adjust ourselves to our environments. Of all the sense organs the eye is the most highly developed, and yet it was not one of the first to be developed. It is marvelously well adjusted for the functions which it has to perform, but it has certain weaknesses and defects which are surprising.

Although each of the sense organs is a source of

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illusion, this chapter will be confined to a presentation of some of the most striking illusions of the eye.

One of the most glaring of the so-called "optical illusions" is the illusion as to the length of lines. We judge distances by the amount of eye movement which is necessary to look from one extremity of the line to the other. Under some circumstances this eye movement is facilitated and under others it is retarded. Lines or distances over which the eye moves readily are underestimated, while those over which the eye moves with difficulty are overestimated.



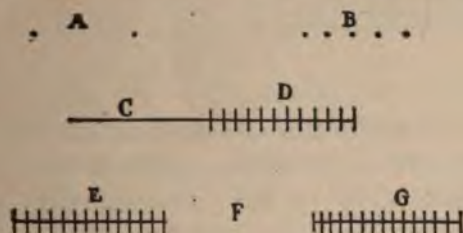
No. 1

No. 1 shows two lines of equal length. The line at the top seems much shorter and the explanation is as given above. The arrowheads which are turned in stop the eye movement before the end of the line is reached. The arrowheads which are turned out invite the eye to go even further than the end of the line. I have conducted experiments with very finely constructed instruments which showed that as I looked at the bottom line my eye moved further than it did when I looked at the upper line.

When out walking, we are inclined to judge the distance traversed by the amount of effort we have put forth in covering the distance. Any one who has had occasion to walk on railroad ties knows that the distance which he thought he had covered was much

greater than the distance which he had actually covered. In walking on the railroad ties, every tie must be noticed and its distance from the next tie must be roughly estimated. There is a constant starting and stopping which calls for the putting forth of an excessive amount of energy. When we walk over a smooth and well-known path there is no starting and stopping at all, but movement is continuous and easy. In the case of these walks the distance covered is judged according to the amount of energy which the limbs must put forth to cover the distance. A similar illusion occurs when the eye is called upon to judge of distances which, roughly speaking, correspond to the railroad ties and the smooth path.

In No. 2 the extents indicated by A and B are equal. A is an open space bounded by two dots, and the eye



No. 2

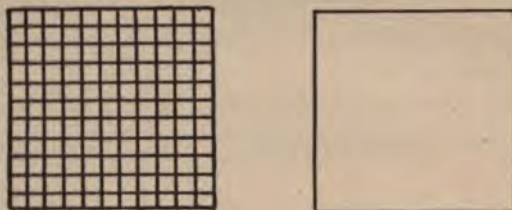
moves over it readily and without any delays. B is a space bounded by two dots broken by three others, and, although the eye seems to run over them smoothly, there is a slight tendency to notice each dot, and this stopping and starting at each dot requires more energy than it does to move the eye over an empty space of the same size. As seen extents are estimated according to the amount of energy necessary to move the eye over them, B is judged to be greater than A. The other illusions

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shown in No. 2 are explained in the same way—C appears much shorter than D, and F appears much shorter than E or G.

In No. 3 the two squares are of equal size, but the left-hand one appears to be much the larger. As the eye passes over the left square there is a tendency to stop at each cross line, and these stoppings and startings cause us to overestimate the size of the square.

Nos. 2 and 3 are but a few of the examples which might be given to show that filled space is overestimated and that empty space is underestimated. In every case



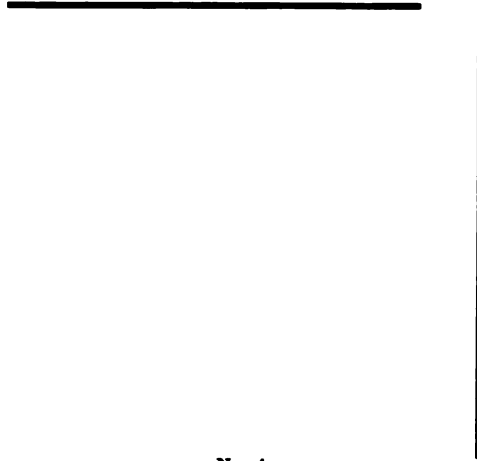
No. 3

the cause of the illusion is found in the fact that we base our estimation of extents upon the eye movements which are necessary to look over the field or extent being estimated.

All eye movements are made by means of the three pairs of muscles which are attached to each eye. They are so adjusted that they can move the eye in any direction, but the pairs of muscles are not symmetrically placed, and as a natural consequence it is harder to move the eyes in certain directions than in others. If you move your eyes from right to left and from left to right, you will observe that it is much easier than it is to move them up and down. Our conclusion from this would be that if we judge distances by eye movement,

we would overestimate vertical distances and underestimate horizontal distances. Such is the case.

In No. 4 the horizontal and vertical lines are equal, but to most persons the vertical line appears longer. A



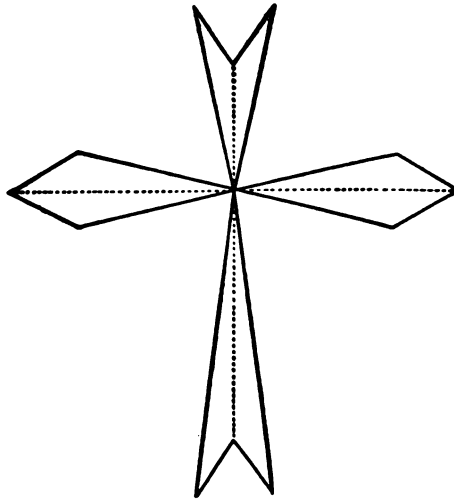
No. 4

square does not look to be square, but looks as if its vertical sides were longer than its horizontal ones.

No. 5 combines several different causes of illusions, and the result is very striking. Measurements made along the dotted lines show the horizontal line to be about one-sixth longer than the vertical line. The explanation of this illusion is more difficult to find than that of the figures above given, but it is quite certain that all the explanations given above apply here, and in addition we must mention the "error of expectancy." We expect to see the horizontal arms of a cross shorter than the height of it, and so we are inclined to see it that way even when the reverse is true. The error of expectancy will be more fully discussed in the next chapter.

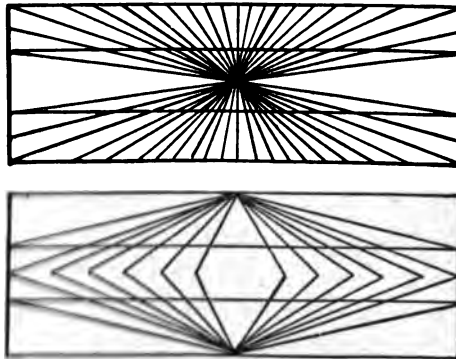
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In certain positions straight lines look crooked and crooked ones look straight.



No. 5

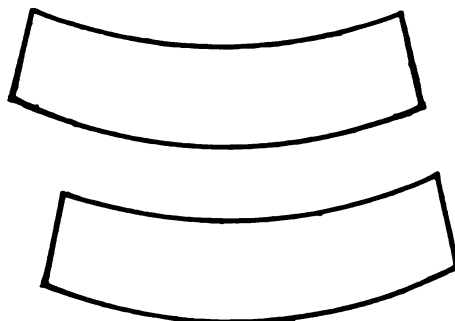
No. 6 shows straight lines which seem to be decidedly warped. The four horizontal lines are two pairs of straight and parallel lines. The explanation of this



No. 6

illusion is that we underestimate the size of large angles and overestimate the size of small ones. Each horizontal line is crossed by a number of oblique lines and each oblique line forms two acute and two obtuse angles with each horizontal line. As we overestimate the size of the acute angles and underestimate the size of the large ones, the straight lines must appear crooked to allow for these misjudgments.

In certain positions figures which are the same size may appear to be very far from being equal.



No. 7

No. 7 shows two identical figures, but the lower one appears to be much smaller than the upper one. The explanation of this illusion is somewhat different from the explanation of the other illusions as given above. In comparing the size of two objects we ordinarily judge by the comparative size of adjoining areas. In the figures shown the large side of one is next to the small side of the other. We involuntarily compare these adjoining sides, and so the illusion occurs.

There is another class of illusions which do not depend upon eye movement, but upon the way the different rays of light affect the retina of the eye. We "see" objects when the rays of light reflected from them fall upon

the retina of the eye. From large objects more light is reflected than from small objects. Because of this we have come to judge objects not only from the eye movement, but also from the size of the object as it is reflected upon the eye. The rays of light reflected from some colors spread themselves out, or "irradiate," and so the image of the object as it is reflected in the eye is greater than the image of an object of the same size but of a color which does not irradiate. For this reason white objects appear larger than black ones. The stock buyers of the West are often compelled to guess at the weight of animals. I am told that they always reduce their "guess" on white animals and add to the apparent size of black ones. Nor is this illusion confined to white and black. Red, orange, and yellow objects look larger than objects of the same size which are green and blue. Corpulent people dress themselves in black or in the darker shades of blue or green. Small, thin people dress in white, red, orange, or yellow.

Another source of errors is found in the fact which, technically expressed, is that the eye is not corrected for chromatic aberration. The result of this defect in the eye is that certain colors look closer than others. Thus red objects look closer than green ones. I remember looking at a church window which had a red disk in a green background. The red appeared to stand out from the green in such a remarkable manner that I was not satisfied till, after the service was over, I went to the window and felt of it. The red and the green were in the same plane, but, as the red might have stood out, the illusion was not counteracted by my knowledge of the perspective and was very striking.

Tailors and dressmakers have taken advantage of some of the sources of illusions as given above. They

know how to cover defects and to produce the desired appearances. Corpulent ladies are not found wearing checks, nor are tall ladies in the habit of wearing vertical stripes. As far as the writer knows, advertisers have never made a conscious effort to profit by illusions in their illustrations and construction of display. It is not the function of this article to suggest how the principles here enunciated might be applied to any particular concrete case, but the ingenious advertiser will find the application. The Purina Mills put up their goods in checkerboard packages, which make the packages look larger than they really are. This illusion is illustrated in No. 3. Ordinarily the illustration in advertisements of fountain pens represents the pen in a horizontal position. I have recently noticed some of the illustrations in which the pen is represented in a vertical position. This makes the pen look larger, as is indicated in No. 4.

If the designer of an advertisement desires to give the impression of bigness to an article which he is presenting, he might make use of some or all of the illusions given above. The cut of the article might be so constructed that the eye would move completely over it or even beyond it, as is shown in the lower figure of No. 1. It might be of such a nature that the eye would not move over it readily, as is the case with B, D, E, and G in No. 2. It might be checkered like the left-hand square of No. 3. It might have its dimensions indicated by vertical and not by horizontal lines. It might take advantage of the error of expectation, as is shown in No. 5. Its size might be made to appear greater by the introduction of acute angles, as is shown in No. 6, in which the distance between the two parallel lines is increased and decreased by acute and obtuse angles. The cut

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might be brought into contrast with some other figure which would give the impression of great size, as is done in the upper figure of No. 7. Finally, the part of the cut which is to look large might be colored red, orange, yellow, or white. If several of these principles of illusions could be employed in a single cut the effect would be astonishing.

As will be seen, the cause of all illusions of perception is found in some maladjustment of our normal sense organs. The advertiser is perfectly justified in taking advantage of this defect of ours, and in some cases this could be done to advantage.

V

ILLUSIONS OF APPERCEPTION

IN Evanston, Illinois, two grocery firms are accustomed to advertise on hand-bills which are placed in the morning papers before they are delivered by the carriers. A friend of mine, who was the head of a family, had frequently noticed these bills in his morning paper and, having noticed at some time the name of "Robinson Brothers" on one of the advertisements, had come to the conclusion that all these hand-bills were from Robinson Brothers. On a certain morning Winter's Grocery offered to sell several lines of standard goods at a very great reduction from the ordinary price. As my friend was going down town that morning his wife handed him the hand-bill and asked him to order quite an extensive quantity of the special bargains offered that morning. He took the advertisement, checked off what his wife wanted, and went down town. As he entered Robinson Brothers' store he held Winter's advertisement in his hand and read off to the clerk the order which he was commissioned to make. When the goods were delivered he was taken to task by his wife for ordering the goods at the wrong store and thereby failing to save the special reductions for that day. It so happened that the advertisement was still in his pocket. As he took it out and looked at it again he was very much surprised to see "Winter's Grocery" in plain type at the bottom. It was not comforting to him either to remember the way the clerk had smiled when he had held the advertisement in his hand and

THE ADVANTAGE OF ADVERTISING

...he remembered
...work and scanned him and
...order was being given.

The second number (No. 1) of a full-page
...appeared in *Everybody's Maga-*



No. 1

...goods occupied three-fourths of the
...Munsing goods one-fourth. It seems that
...no confusion about this, but such has
...The Munsing people received a num-
...of inquiry concerning the Oneita union
...persons desiring union suits this full-page

advertisement was all supposed to be an advertisement issuing from the manufacturers of the Munsing underwear. An advertising manager of a progressive magazine saw this page and, like many other readers, supposed that it was all one. He wrote to the Munsing people, making them rates on the full-page advertisement, and enclosed the page from which the half-tone was made as shown above.

Confusions often arise between advertisements which present the most dissimilar kinds of goods. It might seem surprising that the advertisements for portable houses should be confused with the advertisement of pens, but the following illustration will show how naturally such an error could occur:

In the reduced reproduction of the full-page advertisement (No. 2) the Conklin Pen Company occupies the upper right-hand quarter page and the lower left-hand quarter page. The upper right-hand quarter is of such a nature that it arrests the reader's attention as he turns over the page. It is of such an indefinite nature that it does not direct the attention to anything in particular, but merely arrests it and causes one to look down. It does not draw attention to the lower left-hand quarter more than it does to the lower right-hand quarter. Under these circumstances the lower quarter which appeals to the reader the most strongly receives the most attention. We may for the present assume that the two lower quarters are equally attractive. Under these circumstances it will depend upon the reader himself as to whether he will see the portable houses or the pens. If he has been thinking of portable houses—if he wants a portable house—his attention will immediately be attracted by the advertisement of Mershon & Morley, and he will take it for

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granted that Mershon & Morley have used the entire right-hand half of the page. This conclusion is not merely hypothetical, for Mershon & Morley have positive proof as to very many such confusions and they are of the opinion that they have received as much benefit



No. 2

from the upper right-hand quarter as the Conklin Pen Company has.

Department store advertising leads to very many more illusions of apperception than are ordinarily detected. Mandel Brothers of Chicago advertised a special brand of writing paper one morning and during the day Mar-

shall Field & Company received forty orders for this brand from people who believed that Field's and not Mandel's were advertising it. Field's roughly estimated that they receive as many as thirty orders weekly which are known to be due to illusions of apperception in which Field's receive the benefit of competitors advertising.

Of two hat firms of Chicago one puts great emphasis on its own name and address, the other emphasizes the style of the hat sold. For convenience' sake we shall call the first firm "A" and the second "B." Hatter A has made his name so well known that when a possible customer sees an advertisement of hats he at once begins to think of A. Last summer Hatter B advertised a particular style of hat very extensively. His name was on all the advertisements, of course. The name, however, was not the important or the emphasized thing. After they had read the advertisement through many persons still supposed that it was A's advertisement. Hatter A is not willing to have his name or that of his competitor mentioned, for he does not desire to see the present condition changed. His position can be appreciated when we learn that he sold over twenty dozen hats last summer to persons who thought they were getting the hat which they had seen advertised by B.

I have frequently observed that people misread advertisements. In some cases the mistakes are astonishing. After a young lady had completed "looking through" a magazine, I asked her to write down as full an account as possible of some of the advertisements in the magazine. Here is what she wrote: "What sensations are more agreeable after exercise than a hard rub with a towel and a rub with Armour's toilet soap, and a dash of water? Armour's soap may not be very

valuable, but it is very refreshing after exercise. Armour's soap may be bought at any store at five or ten cents a bar." What she had read was the following: "What sensations are more agreeable than those following some good, quick exercise, a rub with a rough towel, a scrub with Ivory soap and a dash of cold water? . . . If the Ivory soap is not positively essential, it is at least delightfully cleansing," etc. I asked several hundred persons to write down a description of the advertisements which they had just read. This confusion of Armour's and Ivory soap is but one of scores of similar confusions which I discovered.

At an international congress of psychologists held in Munich, in 1896, an alleged "photograph" of the human brain (No. 3) was exhibited.



No. 3

All those present were much interested in the structure and functions of the brain. Many of them, at first sight, saw nothing unusual about the picture, but observed the position of the various convolutions and fissures of the brain. Later it dawned upon them that it was not a photograph of the brain at all, but was a group of naked babies. I have since that time shown the picture to various per-

sons and have noticed that those who are familiar with the brain first see a brain, but other persons are likely to see the babies at once.

The first time I saw this photograph of a brain I did not notice the babies for several seconds; then for some time I could see it as either a brain or a group of babies. Now I find that I cannot see it as a brain at all, but every time I look at it I see the babies and there is scarcely any resemblance to a brain there.

The following cut (No. 4) differs from the one last discussed in this particular. I can see it equally well in two different ways.

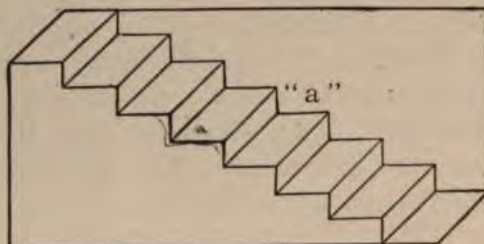


No. 4

If I look away from it and think how it should be to represent a duck and then turn my eyes upon it, behold—it is a duck. If I think how it should be to represent a rabbit and then look at it, it ceases to look like a duck and is the likeness of a rabbit. The figure itself may represent equally well either a rabbit or a duck, but cannot possibly suggest both to me at the same time. If I continue to look at it steadily for some minutes it changes from a rabbit to a duck and then back to a rabbit. When I see it as one it does not seem possible that it could ever look like the other, for the two things are so totally different in appearance.

The following illustration (No. 5) differs from the one given immediately above in several important par-

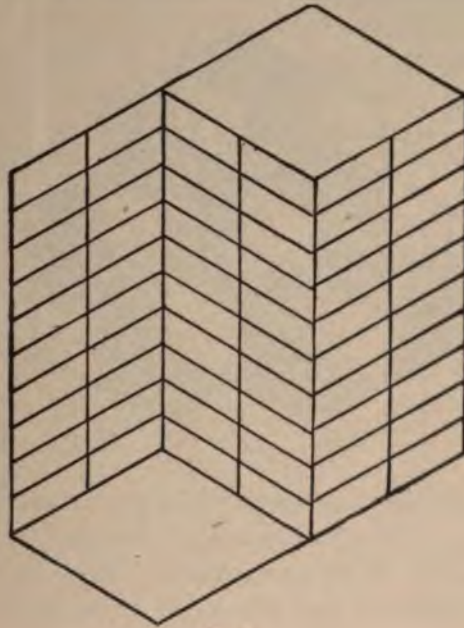
ticulars. The one given above is seen equally well in either of two ways, and we seem to have no preference as to which way we shall see it. The one given below can be seen in at least four different ways, but we see it much more readily in one way than in any other.



No. 5

The easiest way to interpret this figure is to regard it as a representation of a staircase as seen from above. It is quite possible, however, to see it as a representation of the same stairs as seen from below. This latter interpretation is made easier if you think just how the stairs would look if seen from below, and if at the same time you direct your eye to the point marked "a" in the cut. It is possible to interpret the cut, not as a staircase at all, but as a strip of cardboard bent at right angles like an accordion plait and situated in front of the apparent background. It is difficult to "see" the figure this way. It is still more difficult to see the figure as a plane surface composed of straight lines without any perspective. This fourth interpretation is the one that would apparently be the most natural, for it is the one which takes the cut for just what it is and adds nothing to it. It might be added that the angles in the staircase figure may be seen as right angles, acute angles, or oblique angles.

No. 6 is like the previous illustrations in that it can be seen in more than one way, but it is different in that the figure seems to change under the eye more rapidly



No. 6

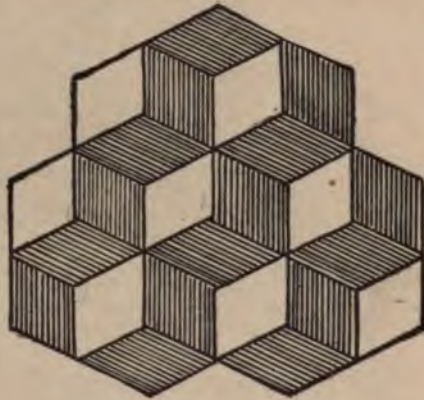
than the others. It assumes two or three different appearances in a very few seconds.

These changes are assisted by moving the eye from one part of the figure to another. In looking at solid figures or bodies our eyes usually rest on the nearest edge or surface. It comes about in this way that the lines at which we look are very likely to appear to be the nearest edge or surface of the solid.

No. 7 consists of a group of either six or seven blocks. If it is looked at steadily for some seconds, the blocks seem to fall and to arrange themselves in a new way.

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If at first there were but six blocks, there may be seven there after they have fallen. Many people find it very difficult to count the blocks, for while they are counting, the number changes. If you look at No. 7a and hold



No. 7

an image of it in your mind while you count the blocks in No. 7 you will probably find six blocks. If, however, you first look at No. 7b and retain its image in your mind you will be able to find seven blocks in No. 7. If the



No. 7a



No. 7b

desired results are not secured, turn the page upside-down and the blocks will then certainly "fall."

No. 8, at first sight, appears to most people as a book which is half opened and turned in such a way that the

cover alone is visible. To some it will appear as if the book was opened toward them and as if two of the pages were visible. If we try to think how a book should look when opened and turned away from us, and if we then look at the figure, it will appear to represent the book of which we are thinking and also in the position in which we imagined it.

The upper or feathered end of the arrow (No. 9) is identical with No. 8 and yet it appears to be flat, while



No. 8



No. 9

that one appeared as a solid. If we cover up the shaft and head of the arrow as shown in this figure, we can then see the top of the figure as a book. If we think of it as the end of an arrow it is flat, but if we think of it as a book it immediately appears as a solid drawn in perspective.

If I put on red glasses and then look at a landscape, all objects appear red to me. If I put on green glasses all objects appear green. The objects are colored by the glasses which were before my eyes. In a similar way, by apperception, *the thoughts which are in my mind color all the objects at which I look.* We see things

through our own eyes and with our own minds. This is equivalent to saying that *all we see is changed by the thoughts which are in our minds when we look*. It is also equivalent to saying that *we see everything in relation to our own previous experience*. Although the grass is green I am unable to see it as green till I remove the red glasses. The rose may be red, but it will not appear so to me till I take off the green glasses. In a similar way I fail to see the green grass when I am thinking of the red rose and I fail to see the red rose when I am thinking of the green grass, although both are present all the time. *We see most easily those things of which we happen to be thinking or of which we have had previous experience, but we see with difficulty those things of which we have had no previous experience.*

For the practical advertiser the theoretical discussion of the illusions of apperception has a special importance, as it assists him to discern the causes of such illusions and to avoid them in his advertisements. The principal cause of all illusions of apperception is found in the fact that *the mind of the reader is not prepared for the reception of the case as presented*. The second cause of such illusions is that the presentation of the case is not as clear and distinct as it should be. The first of these facts is the peculiar and distinctive cause of most illusions of apperception. The reader's mind may be unprepared either because it is distracted by a competing thought or because the material presented is entirely new. The presentation may be lacking in clearness because in some particular it is ambiguous.

By observing the part which these two causes played in the illusions given above we are better prepared to understand and therefore to avoid such illusions. The householder who misread Robinson for Winter had his

mind preoccupied with the thought of Robinson. Winter had not succeeded in occupying a place in his mind, while Robinson had. On the other hand, Robinson's and Winter's advertisements look as much alike as two peas and neither has a characteristic feature which would help to identify it.

The readers of *Everybody's Magazine* looked at the lower right-hand corner of the page and read "The N. W. Knitting Company, Minneapolis." With this thought in mind they looked at the Oneita goods, but failed to notice that they were not sold by the N. W. Knitting Company. The Oneita people are in part responsible for the illusion in that they allowed their advertisement to appear without an address and on a page with a similar advertisement which has an address. The more recent advertisements of the Oneita union suits have an address given and therefore are not so subject to illusions of this sort.

The confusion by which readers supposed that the portable houses were presented by a full half-page advertisement is a typical illusion of apperception. The readers had their minds preoccupied by the thought of portable houses, and so the attention went to portable houses, and not to "The Pen That Fills Itself." The Conklin Pen Company did not make it perfectly clear that the hand was pointing to their space.

In the confusion of hats referred to, Hatter A had made his name so familiar to the residents of this city that when they read a hat advertisement they did it with their minds preoccupied with the thought that it was A's advertisement. It came about in this way that when they read B's advertisement they read it as A's and failed to notice B's name, which was given at the bottom. It is quite possible that B might have greatly reduced

the number of confusions if he had put more emphasis upon his own name and address.

The young lady who misread Armour's for Ivory had been influenced by extensive advertisements of Armour's which had appeared in her town. She had associated the name of Armour and soap so closely together that when she read of soap she naturally assumed that it was Armour's and failed to see Ivory, just as the inexperienced proofreader reads the proof as he thinks it ought to be and fails to observe some of the most glaring errors. It should also be observed that the soap advertisement did not emphasize the name of Ivory at all.

The figures given above illustrate the same principles of illusions of apperception, but they make it clearer than any confusion of concrete advertisements can possibly do. In most, if not in all, of the figures the reader can voluntarily preëempt his mind with a thought and then can see in the figure that of which he is thinking. He can in this way interpret each figure in two or more ways. By means of these figures we can see the part the mind adds to a sensation when it interprets a written, printed, or drawn symbol. These figures also show the need of clear and distinct presentation. They are extremely ambiguous, and can with equal ease be interpreted in two or more ways. With slight changes all of these figures could be remodeled so that it would be much more difficult to interpret them in any way except the one which the author desired.

That firm which does the most and the best advertising is the one that preëmpts the minds of the possible customers and so gets the benefit of more advertisements than it pays for. The firms that advertise extensively and do not fail to put the proper emphasis on their names and addresses are the firms that profit most by

confusions. New firms and firms that put little emphasis on their names and addresses would be much surprised if they knew how many possible customers read their advertisements and still fail to notice who they are.

Many advertisers believe that they should put all their emphasis on the quality of the goods. They assume that if any one wants the goods thus presented they will take the trouble to ascertain the brand of the goods, the name of the firm, and its address. Such a theory sounds well, but the instances of confusion cited above indicate the weakness of the theory when applied to specific advertisements.

In this chapter we have confined our attention to illusions in which the reader has confused one advertisement or one figure for another. Ordinarily illusions do not go to this extreme, but are confined to confusions and misunderstandings as to the specific arguments of the advertisements. Since we have positive evidence that these extreme illusions are not uncommon, we can well believe that illusions of a less extreme but serious nature are of all too frequent occurrence. The number of such illusions would be materially decreased if the writers of advertisements would see to it that the minds of the possible customers are prepared for the argument which they are about to write and if they would present their arguments clearly and distinctly.

VI

PERSONAL DIFFERENCES IN MENTAL
IMAGERY

YESTERDAY I looked in at a shop window where the current magazines were displayed. I saw the front outer cover of over a score of them. Now, as I sit in my study, miles away from that window, I can still see the magazines with my "mind's eye"; that is to say, I can form a mental image of the window and the magazines. I can describe some of the covers accurately as to color, shape, type, etc. I know that there were several magazines off to the left side of the window, but all I can see of them now is the barest outline. They are so indistinct that I cannot tell what they are at all. My mental image of them is very indistinct.

But recently I was talking with a friend while a company of young people in an adjoining room was playing on the piano and violin and singing college songs. As I sit here I can imagine how my friend's voice sounded; I can hear in imagination how the piano and the violin sounded; I can hear in imagination the tunes which they were singing; that is to say, I can form a mental image of the sounds which I had previously heard. I notice, however, that my mental image is not so distinct and pronounced as the original perception. I cannot form a mental image of some of the notes which I heard from the violin. Only the more striking parts of the tunes seem to be plain, and even they seem to be quite low and of much less volume than the originals.

Only an hour ago I ate my breakfast. The odor and

taste of the coffee were at that time very pleasing to me. Now I can imagine how it smelt and tasted, but the images of it are not very vivid and are not strong enough to give me any pleasure in recalling them.

Last night I was on the ice playing hockey. The exercise was very vigorous and exciting. At the time I did not stop to think how it felt to "put the puck," but I must have felt the exertion of my muscles as I performed the act. Now I can form a mental image of the act; I can feel my muscles as they make the strain necessary for the performance. I was perspiring when I left the pond and soon my woolen underwear became excessively unpleasant. I felt the unpleasant contact on my skin at that time, and now I can form a mental image of the sensation, which is so strong that it makes me want to stop writing to scratch.

As is indicated by the examples given above, I can form a mental image of that which I have seen, heard, tasted, smelt, felt (in my muscles), or touched (with my skin). In general it might be said that we can form a mental image of anything which we have ever perceived. There are many exceptions to this statement, as will be shown later.

Almost all of our dreams and reveries and a large part of our more serious thinking are composed of a succession of these mental images of things which we have previously experienced. We cannot see the images in the mind of our neighbor, but we are likely to suppose that his thinking is very much like our own. It was formerly supposed that such was the case. It was assumed that the normal mind could form images of everything which it had experienced. It was further assumed that there were no personal differences as to the clearness and vividness of such mental images.

In 1880 Francis Galton discovered that there was a great difference in individuals in their ability to form these mental images. He found that some persons could form mental images which were almost as vivid and strong as the original perception, while for others the past was veiled in indistinctness. He also found that certain persons could form mental images of one class of perceptions, but could form no mental images of other classes. Thus, one man could not imagine how his friends looked when he was absent from them; another could not imagine how a piano sounded when the piano was out of his hearing.

Prof. William James, of Harvard University, continued the investigations begun by Mr. Galton. He collected papers from hundreds of persons in which each one described his own image of his breakfast table. One who is a good visualizer writes:

"This morning's breakfast table is both dim and bright: it is dim if I try to think of it when my eyes are open upon any object; it is perfectly clear and bright if I think of it with my eyes closed. All the objects are clear at once, yet when I confine my attention to any one object it becomes far more distinct. I have more power to recall color than any other one thing; if, for example, I were to recall a plate decorated with flowers, I could reproduce in a drawing the exact tones, etc. The color of anything that was on the table is perfectly vivid. There is very little limit to the extent of my images: I can see all four sides of a room; I can see all four sides of two, three, four, or even more rooms with such distinctness that if you should ask me what was in any particular place in any one, or ask me to count the chairs, etc., I could do it without the least hesitation. The more I learn by heart the more clearly do I see

images of my pages. Even before I can recite the lines I see them so that I could give them very slowly, word for word, but my mind is so occupied in looking at my printed page that I have no idea of what I am saying, of the sense of it, etc. When I first found myself doing this, I used to think it was merely because I knew the lines imperfectly, but I have quite convinced myself that I really do see an image. The strongest proof that such is really the fact is, I think, the following:

"I can look down the mentally seen page and see the words that *commence* all the lines, and from any one of these words I can continue the line. I find this much easier to do if the words begin in a straight line than if there are breaks. Example:

"Etant fait . . .

"Tous . . .

"A des . . .

"Que fit . . .

"Céres . . .

"Avec . . .

"Un fleur . . .

"Comme . . .

"(La Fontaine 8, iv.)"

Those who are poor visualizers are likely to suspect the writer of the above paper as exaggerating the vividness of his visual images, yet there is every reason to suppose that there is no exaggeration about it.

One who is a poor visualizer writes:

"My ability to form mental images seems, from what I have studied of other people's images, to be defective and somewhat peculiar. The process by which I remember any particular event is not by any distinct images, but a sort of panorama, the faintest impressions of which are perceptible through a thick fog. I cannot shut my

eyes and get a distinct image of any one, although I used to be able to a few years ago, and the faculty seems to have gradually slipped away. In my most vivid dreams, where the events appear like the most real facts, I am often troubled with a dimness of sight which causes the image to appear indistinct. To come to the question of the breakfast table, there is nothing definite about it. Everything is vague. I cannot say *what* I see; could not possibly count the chairs, but I happen to know that there are ten. I see nothing in detail. The chief thing is a general impression that I cannot tell what I do see. The color is about the same, as far as I can recall it, only very much washed out. Perhaps the only color I can see at all distinctly is that of the tablecloth, and I could probably see the color of the wall-paper if I could remember what color it was."

Every year I ask each of my students in psychology to write out in full a description of his mental image of his breakfast table, a railroad train, and a football game. In these papers are examples of as good and as poor visualizers as those given from the papers collected by Professor James. I have found that there is not only a personal difference in the ability to form *visual* images, but that the same differences exist for the other classes of perceptions. One student who has strong auditory imagery writes as follows:

"When I think of the breakfast table I do not seem to have a clear visual image of it. I can see the length of it, the three chairs,—though I can't tell the color or shape of these,—the white cloth and something on it, but I can't see the pattern of the dishes or any of the food. I can very plainly hear the rattle of the dishes and of the silver and above this hear the conversation, also the other noises, such as a train which passes every morning

while we are at breakfast. Again in a football game I distinctly hear the noise, but do not see clearly anything or anybody. I hear the stillness when every one is intent and then the loud cheering. Here I notice the differences of pitch and tone."

I had read that some people were unable to imagine sounds which they had heard, but it had not impressed me, for I had supposed that such persons were great exceptions. I was truly surprised when I found so many of my students writing papers similar to those from which extracts are here given:

"My mental imagery is visual, as I seem to see things and not to hear, feel, or smell them. The element of sound seems practically never to enter in. When I think of a breakfast table or a football game I have a distinct image. I see colors, but hear no sound."

Another, in describing his image of a railroad train, writes:

"I am not able to state whether I hear the train or not. I am inclined to think that it is a noiseless one. It is hard for me to conceive of the sound of a bell, for instance. I can see the bell move to and fro, and for an instant seem to hear the ding, dong; but it is gone before I can identify it. When I try to conceive of shouts I am like one groping in the dark. I cannot possibly retain the conception of a sound for any length of time."

Another, who seems to have no vivid images of any kind, writes:

"When I recall the breakfast table I see it and the persons around it. The number of them is distinct, for there is only one of them on each side of the table. But they seem like mere objects in space. Only when I think of each separately do I clearly see them. As for the table, all I see is a general whiteness, interspersed with

objects. I hear nothing at all, and indeed the whole thing is so indistinct it bewilders me when I think of it. My mental imagery is very vague and hazy, unless I have previously taken special notice of what I now have an image. For instance, when I have an image of a certain person, I cannot tell his particular characteristics unless my attention was formerly directed to them."

Another writes:

"There is no sound in connection with any image. In remembering I call up an incident and gradually fill out the details. I can very seldom recall how anything sounds. One sound from the play 'Robespierre,' by Henry Irving, which I heard about two years ago and which I could recall some time afterward, I have been unable to recall this fall, though I have tried to do so. I can see the scene quite perfectly, the position of the actors and stage setting, even the action of a player who brought out the sound."

Quite a large proportion of persons find it impossible to imagine motion at all. As they think of a football game all the players are standing stock still; they are as they are represented in a photograph. They are in the act of running, but no motion is represented. Likewise, the banners and streamers are all motionless. They find it impossible to think of such a thing as motion. Others find that the motions are the most vivid part of their images. What they remember of a scene is principally movement. One writes:

"When the word 'breakfast table' was given out I saw our breakfast table at home, especially the table and the white tablecloth. The cloth seemed to be the most distinct object. I can see each one in his place at the table. I can see no color except that of the tablecloth.

The dishes are there, but are very indistinct. I cannot hear the rattle of the dishes or the voices very distinctly; the voices seem much louder than the dishes, but neither are very clear. I can feel the motions which I make during the breakfast hour. I feel myself come in, sit down, and begin to eat. I can see the motions of those about me quite plainly. I believe the feeling of motion was the most distinct feeling I had. When the word 'railroad train' was given, I saw the train very plainly just stopping in front of the depot. I saw the people getting on the train; these people were very indistinct. It is their motions rather than the people themselves which I see. I can feel myself getting on the train, finding a seat, and sitting down. I cannot hear the noise of the train, but can hear rather indistinctly the conductor calling the stations. I believe my mental imagery is more *motile* [of movement] than anything else. Although I can see some things quite plainly, I seem to feel the movements most distinctly."

A very few in describing their images of the breakfast table made special mention of the taste of the food and of its odor. I have discovered no one whose prevailing imagery is for either taste or smell. With very many the image of touch is very vivid. They can imagine just how velvet feels, how a fly feels on one's nose, the discomfort of a tight shoe, and the pleasure of stroking a smooth marble surface.

It is a well-observed fact that different classes of society think differently and that arguments which would appeal to one class would be worthless with another. A man's occupation, his age, his environment, etc., make a difference in his manner of thinking, and in the motives which prompt him to action. In appealing to people we ordinarily think of these conditions and formulate our

argument in accordance with these motives. That is to say, we address ourselves to a particular social or industrial class. The study of mental imagery makes it evident that there are personal differences apart from differences due to environment, but which are inherent in the individual. Some well-educated persons are so destitute of visual images that they are utterly unable to appreciate the description of a scene when it is described in visual terms. Many persons find themselves bored even by Victor Hugo's description of the scene of the battle of Waterloo. To them the whole scene is unimaginable and therefore unintelligible and uninteresting. I have been interested in observing that the authors which are read with universal delight are those who appeal to all the various classes of mental imagery. Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, Tennyson, Washington Irving, and many of the authors who are universally appreciated, appeal to and awaken many auditory images as well as images of taste, smell, touch, and motion; Browning appeals most often and most exclusively to visual images. It is quite certain that a person can best be appealed to through his dominating imagery. A person who has visual images that are very clear and distinct appreciates descriptions of scenes. A person with auditory imagery delights in having auditory images awakened. The same holds true for the other classes of mental imagery. Of all the writings of Washington Irving "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" is one of the favorites. One element of strength in this is the manner in which the author succeeds in awakening the different classes of mental imagery in the reader. Take, for example, the following passages, in which the "eye-minded" reader sees the scene while the "ear-minded" reader hears that which is being described:

"Not far from this village, perhaps about two miles, there is a little valley, or rather lap of land, among high hills, which is one of the quietest places in all the world. A small brook glides through it, with just murmur enough to lull one to repose; and the occasional whistle of a quail, or tapping of a woodpecker, is almost the only sound that ever breaks in on the uniform tranquility. . . . I had wandered into it at noontime, when all nature is peculiarly quiet, and was startled by the roar of my own gun as it broke the Sabbath stillness around and was prolonged and reverberated by the angry echoes."

As an example of the way in which Washington Irving could awaken images of taste and of odor, examine the following, taken from the same selection:

"The pedagogue's mouth watered as he looked upon this sumptuous promise of luxurious winter fare. In his devouring mind's eye he pictured to himself every roasting pig running about with a pudding in his belly and an apple in his mouth; the pigeons were snugly put to bed in a comfortable pie, and tucked in with a coverlet of crust; the geese were swimming in their own gravy, and the ducks pairing cosily in dishes, like snug married couples, with a decent competency of onion sauce. In the porkers he saw carved out the future sleek side of bacon and juicy, relishing ham; not a turkey but he beheld daintily trussed up, with its gizzard under its wing and peradventure, a necklace of savory sausage," etc.

This author is not regarded as one of the greatest, but certainly the fascination for his writings is found in part in the fact that in his imagination he could *see* the woodland, he could *hear* the murmur of the brook, he could *taste* the pies, he could *smell* the fragrance of the orchards, he could *feel* the bumps as Ichabod Crane rode

the old horse Gunpowder, he could *feel* the muscle contract in the brawny arms of Brom Bones. Having all these images distinct himself, he depicted them so well that similar images are awakened in us in as far as we are capable of imagining what he described. It is not to be supposed that Washington Irving intentionally tried to awaken in his readers these various classes of images, but he did unconsciously what it might be wise for us to do consciously.

An advertiser, as well as any other author, might do well to examine his own writings to see what sort of images he is appealing to. It is in general best to appeal to as many different classes of images as possible, for in this way variety is given and each reader is appealed to in the sort of imagery in which he thinks most readily and by means of which he is most easily influenced.

VII

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF MENTAL
IMAGERY

THE young men and women of to-day are accused of being poorer spellers than their parents. The reasons for this may be many, but one has direct bearing upon our subject of discussion. Formerly children in school spelled orally. They saw the word printed in their books; they did more or less writing, and then felt the movements of their hands and arms as they wrote; they were called upon to spell the word in class orally, and so heard how it sounded. They thus had three "cues" for the word—they saw it, they felt it, and they heard it. When they were called upon to spell a word they had all of these three cues to assist them in remembering how it was spelled, *i.e.*, to assist them in forming an image of it. Some years ago oral spelling was displaced by written spelling. In this way one of the cues was abandoned,—the oral one,—and it was found that pupils made more mistakes in writing than those who had spelled orally. Because of this fact oral spelling is being brought back to the schoolroom. An attempt is being made to have the scholars see, hear, and feel the word, and, in this way, their spelling will be better than if they omitted one of the three processes. The scholar knows the word better and can form a more distinct image of it if he has these three cues to assist him.

In a former age the seller, the buyer, and the commodity were brought together. The seller described and ex-

hibited his wares. The buyer saw the goods, heard of them, tasted them, smelt them, felt, and lifted them. He tested them by means of every sense organ to which they could appeal. In this way the buyer became acquainted with the goods. His perception of them was as complete as it could be made. In these latter days the market place has given way to the office. The consequent separation of buyer, seller, and commodity made the commercial traveler with his sample case seem a necessity. But, with the growing volume of business, and with the increased need for more economical forms of transacting business, the printed page, as a form of advertisement, has superseded the market place, and is, in many cases, displacing the commercial traveler. × In this transition from the market place and the commercial traveler to the printed page, the advertiser must be on his guard to preserve as many as possible of the good features of the older institutions. In the two older forms of barter all the senses of the purchaser were appealed to, if possible, and in addition to this the word of mouth of the seller was added to increase the impressions and to call special attention to the strong features of the commodity. In the printed page the word of mouth is the only feature which is of necessity entirely absent. Indeed, the printed page cannot appeal directly to any of the senses except the eye, but the argument may be of such a nature that the reader's senses are appealed to indirectly through his imagination.

One of the great weaknesses of the present-day advertising is found in the fact that the writer of the advertisement fails to appeal thus indirectly to the senses. How many advertisers describe a piano so vividly that the reader can *hear* it? How many food products are

so described that the reader can *taste* the food? How many advertisements describe a perfume so that the reader can *smell* it? How many describe an undergarment so that the reader can *feel* the pleasant contact with his body? Many advertisers seem never to have thought of this, and make no attempt at such descriptions.

The cause of this deficiency is twofold. In the first place, it is not easy in type to appeal to any other sense than that of sight. Other than visual images are difficult to awaken when the means employed is the printed page. In the second place, the individual writers are deficient in certain forms of mental imagery, and therefore are not adepts in describing articles in terms which to themselves are not significant. This second ground for failure in writing effective advertisements will be made clear by the following examples taken from good and from poor advertisements. "Good" and "poor" are used here in a very narrow sense. For convenience' sake these advertisements are called good which are good according to the single standard here under consideration.

A piano is primarily not a thing to look at or an object for profitable investment, but it is a *musical* instrument. It might be beautiful and cheap, but still be very undesirable. The chief thing about a piano is the quality of its tone. Many advertisers of pianos do not seem to have the slightest appreciation of this fact. As a first example of this, read the following advertisement (No. 1), in which an entire advertisement of the Emerson piano is reproduced exactly, with the single exception that the word "incubator" is substituted for "piano."

The Emerson advertisement is not peculiar because

of its deficiency. In fact, the majority of piano advertisements are equally poor. The following advertisement of the Vose (No. 2) belongs to the same class. In it the word "camera" is substituted for "piano."

Emerson Incubators

IF any one offers you a "just as good" Incubator at a lower price than an EMERSON costs, you had better buy it—but make sure it *is* "just as good." A reputation for reliable goods is better than a reputation for low prices. Our prices, however, must be right or there would not be to-day over 76,000 Emerson Incubators in use!

Write for illustrated catalogue and our easy payment plan.

EMERSON INCUBATOR CO.
BOSTON
120 Boylston St.

DEPT. E.
CHICAGO
195 Wabash Ave.

No. 1

What has been said of these two advertisements would hold true of the advertisements in the current issues of the magazines of the Gabler piano, and of many others.

These advertisements apply equally well for paintings, perfumes, fountain pens, bicycles, snuff or sau-

sages, and would be equally poor if used to advertise any of them. They are not specific, and do not describe or refer in any way to the essential characteristic of a piano. They awaken no images of sound; they do not make us hear the piano in our imagination.

The reproduced advertisement of the Carola (No. 3)

Vose
CAMERAS
HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED 50 YEARS
and are receiving more favorable comments to-day
from an artistic standpoint than all other makes
combined.
WE
Challenge Comparisons.
By our easy payment plan, every family in moderate
circumstances can own a vose camera. We
allow a liberal price for old instruments in exchange,
and deliver the camera in your house free of expense.
You can deal with us at a distant point the same as in
Boston. Send for catalogue and full information.
VOSE & SONS CAMERA CO.,
163 Boylston Street, - - - Boston

No. 2

depicts the joy derived from the rhythm of music, but it awakens no images of tone. The advertisement represents a Carola as superior to a drum because it is easier to play.

The little antiquated advertisement of the Blasius (No. 4) was an attempt in the right direction. The musical scale suggests music specifically; the picture of the piano recalls the sounds of the music to a certain extent; the lady at the piano suggests music, for she is



In **CAROLA** **INNER-PLAYER**

the children *Homes*
provide their

own music and amusement. They can dance at any time. And how they enjoy it! Perhaps not those highly artificial drawing room steps, but those delightful dances that are so graceful, and full of rhythm. You will remember what the great educator, Stanley Hall, said of them—

"I would have dancing taught in every school, even if the school had to be opened evenings for that purpose."

—But you want your children to dance at home!

And the

CAROLA INNER-PLAYER Piano

is first aid and best aid. You who already have a piano of the rarely used type, have gone a long way toward owning an Inner-Player. Your instrument, with a few monthly payments added, would bring to your home—edately the Modern Piano—the piano which even a child can play—AND PLAY WITH EXPRESSION.

The **CAROLA INNER-PLAYER** Piano has two keyboards. On one, you play by hand, as a perfect piano. On the other, inside and out of sight, the eighty-eight flexible fingers strike with the accuracy of a trained pianist, and with the delicate touch of an artist. No other Player-Piano has this Miniature Keyboard.

Call at any hour during the day, and let us prove to you that there is at least one Player-Piano which does not sound mechanical. If impossible to call, write for our fully illustrated art catalog.

YOUR NAME & ADDRESS

Factory Distributor

Set Up Here

By Your Paper

not turning around to be looked at (*cf.* an advertisement of Ivers & Pond pianos in the current magazines), but is intent upon her playing. The text also uses words whose sole function is to awaken images of sound. These expressions appear in the advertisement: "Excellent tone," "the sweetest tone I ever heard," "sweet and



No. 4

melodious in tone," "like a grand church organ for power and volume; and a brilliant, sweet-toned piano, in one."

The man who cannot appreciate the *tone* of a musical instrument, and who can form but indistinct images of musical tones, is not a good man to write the advertisements for a music house. He might improve his style of writing by reading selections in which the author shows by his writing that he hears in imagination what he describes and his descriptions are so vivid that he makes us hear it too.

In determining which foods I shall eat it is a matter of some importance to know how the goods are manufactured, what the price is, how it is prepared for the table, and whether it is nourishing or harmful to my

system. The one essential element, however, is the *taste*. When I look over a bill of fare I seek out what I think will taste good. When I order groceries I order what pleases and tickles my palate. I want the food that makes me smack my lips, that makes my mouth water. Under these circumstances all other considerations are minimized to the extreme.



Packard

Lasting Tone-beauty
 is what one demands in a piano. The Packard tone is singularly rich and of great endurance. "Practice" will not destroy it. Becomes ampler and more sympathetic with use. Superior materials and skillful workmanship insure this permanence of tone-loveliness.

We will send catalogue and full particulars upon request. Address P. O. Box C.

THE PACKARD CO., Fort Wayne, Ind.

No. 5

In advertisements of food products I have been surprised to note that many foods are advertised as if they had no taste at all. One would suppose that the food was to be taken by means of a hypodermic injection and not by the ordinary process of taking the food into the mouth and hence into contact with the organ of taste. The advertisers seem to be at a loss to know what to say about their foods, and so have, in many

cases, expressed themselves in such general terms that their advertisements could be applied equally well to almost any product whatever. The two reproduced advertisements (Nos. 6 and 7), taken from recent issues of household periodicals, are samples of such meaningless generalities.

These two advertisements are reproduced exactly with the single exception that the names of the commodities



No. 6

have been changed in each case. I would suggest to these firms that they might improve their advertisements by leaving off the name of the goods entirely and then offer a prize to the person who could guess what they were advertisements of, or else offer the prize for the one who should suggest the largest list of goods which could be equally well presented by these advertisements.

Some advertisers of food are evidently chronic dyspeptics and take it for granted that all others are in the same condition. They have nothing to say about their foods except that they have wonderful medicinal properties. To me a food which is only healthful savors

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of hospitals and sickrooms, and is something which a well man or woman would not want.

There are advertisers who appreciate the epicurean tendency of the ordinary man and woman. They de-



No. 7

scribe foods in such a way that we immediately want what they describe. Of all the advertisements in current magazines perhaps the one of the National Biscuit Company reproduced herewith (No. 8) presents their product in the most tempting manner. According to this advertisement "Nabisco" is *something to be eaten*,



That very old proverb
about reaching the
heart of a man is best
exemplified with

NABISCO
Sugar
Wafers

A Fairy Sandwich with
an upper and lower
crust of indescribable
delicacy, separated with
a creamy flavoring of

**Lemon, Orange,
Chocolate, Vanilla,
Strawberry,
Raspberry, or Mint.**

Ask for your favorite flavor

NATIONAL BISCUIT COMPANY

and it is presented in such a way that it would seem that one cannot read of it without being convinced that it is good and something that he wants—and the quicker he gets it the better.

[illegible]

No. 9

This advertisement has character and individuality. Its statements could not be applied to anything but foods or, indeed, to anything but Nabisco. They do not say that Nabisco is wholesome, but when I read them I feel sure that Nabisco would agree with me.

The skin is the sense organ by means of which we receive sensations of pressure, touch, heat, and cold.

and it is the organ which gives more "comfortable" and "uncomfortable" feelings than any other. Having experienced touch, pressure, cold, heat, and the comforts and pains connected with our skin, we should be able



Regarding Shoes in general

No other portion of the human body is so tortured, in the efforts made to clothe and protect it, as the feet.

The experience of surgeons proves that a large proportion of sprained joints, ruptured ligaments and fractured limbs are the natural result of defective, weakened, deformed feet.

Shoe friction and inequality of pressure cause premature wear at particular points, as well as serious discomfort to the feet.

There is no reason why footwear should not be comfortable as well as stylish and have at the same time the practical value of serviceableness.

The day of the high-priced, custom-made shoe is over. Modern shoe manufacturing uses precisely the same kind of materials, made up upon correct anatomical principles, and guaranteed to give comfort, together with fine wearing quality.

Crossett Shoes in particular

Crossett Shoes fit the feet, instead of making the feet fit the shoes.

They support at every point the series of arches of which the human foot is composed—providing an inner space which the foot exactly fills without restraint.

They go far toward securing a safe step, a firm gait and a graceful carriage.

They can be manufactured at a low price owing to admirable methods and perfection of machinery—in short they are a typical American product.

They have an individuality of design, and that certain character which is the essence of good style.

The workmanship and finish of each shoe is the result of nearly twenty years of constant improvement in materials and methods.

The name and price is woven in the strap at the back of every Crossett Shoe.

your dealer does not keep them, write me and I will tell you of dealers in your town you can go to.

LEWIS A. CROSSETT, INC., MAKER, NORTH ABINGTON, MASS.

No. 10

to imagine such sensations, and to seek the pleasant and to avoid the unpleasant. Some people are very deficient in imagining the sensations which we receive from the skin, and, strange to say, not a few of these deficient individuals have been put in charge of the advertisements which have to do with these very sensations. One of the prominent characteristics of all

clothing is that it gives us either a pleasant or an unpleasant sensation by means of its contact with our bodies.

Shoes are sold for different prices; therefore the price is to be considered. They are things that wear out sooner or later; we therefore must consider their durability. They are things that we see with our eyes; therefore their appearance—style—must be considered. Lastly,—but not last considered by the purchaser,—shoes come into close contact with our skins, and sensations that are either pleasant or painful result; we must therefore consider the fit and comfort of the shoe. A very common deficiency in shoe advertisements is found in the failure of the advertiser to *imagine the comfort of the shoe advertised*, and to express it in his argument. As a typical advertisement of this sort consider the advertisement of the Crawford shoe (No. 9). It might well be the advertisement of a leather pocket-book, if a few insignificant changes were made.

In the advertisement of the Crossett shoes (No. 10) the text matter is most excellent. The writer is one who can appreciate the comfort of a good-fitting and easy shoe; he has been able to imagine the sensation, and he has described it so vividly that the reader feels in imagination the comfort of a Crossett shoe.

Omega Oil is a liniment that is supposed to increase the pleasant sensations which we receive through the skin. The writer of this advertisement seems to have been able to imagine the uncomfortable feeling of sore feet, and of the comfort which his oil would secure. The artist who drew the sore feet (No. 11) surely could appreciate the situation in a striking manner. The artist does not depict and the author does not describe what he cannot imagine.

Omega Oil is not only a thing which can be applied to and felt by the skin, but it is also a thing that can be seen and smelt. To many it might seem a little thing

Omega Oil



The average man weighs about 140 pounds and the average woman about 120.

If you want to realize how heavy that is, pick up something about those weights and see how long your hands and arms can bear the strain.

If you can stand it a full minute, you are doing remarkably well. Did you ever stop and think that your feet hold up that big weight for hours at a time every day?

That is why your feet are sore and tired at night.

That is why they ache, itch, burn and swell.

A foot-bath before retiring is helpful, but it does not go far enough.

The strained, tired-out muscles and ligaments call for something strengthening, just as your stomach calls for food.

The kind of strength needed for sore, tired feet is the kind of strength to be found in Omega Oil.

Give your feet a good bathing in warm water, and get all the impurities out of the pores. Then rub the feet thoroughly with Omega Oil.

The Oil will go in through the clean open pores, and strengthen and comfort your feet in a manner that will astonish you.

I have been troubled with sore feet for the last nine months and have tried numerous remedies without any result. I consulted my druggist, who spoke very highly of Omega Oil. By his advice I decided to give it a trial and found it as far as represented. I cannot praise it too highly. My feet were so sore that I could not walk across the room, and now I can walk as good a distance as any one without any sign of being sore.

Mrs. Patterson.

2811 Woodbrook Ave., Baltimore, Md.

Omega Oil is good for everything - Baltimore ought to be good for

No. 11

that Omega Oil is green, but that single advertisement, "It's Green" (No. 12), has done a great deal to help the readers to form a distinct image of the liniment. The man who cares but little for odors would not have taken so much space to say that it "smells nice" (No.

13). In these three advertisements and others like them the advertiser of Omega Oil has shown his appreciation of the human mind to which he has been ap-

It's Green



Omega Oil One peculiar thing about Omega Oil is its green color. Some people think it is colored green to make it look nice, but that is not so. Omega Oil is green because Nature makes it green. It contains a powerful green herb that gives it its color, and it is this same herb that stops pain in people's bodies. There are plenty of white, brown and yellow liniments, but there is only one Omega Oil, and it is green. There is nothing like Omega Oil for curing pain, just as there is nothing like the sun for making real daylight.

No. 12

pealing. It may, however, be questionable whether such minor considerations for liniment as color and odor should receive so much emphasis as is given them here.

As was shown in the preceding chapter, many people are deficient in certain forms of imagery. Most people

can imagine with some degree of satisfaction how things look. Not quite so many can imagine how things sound or feel. Very many have difficulty in imagining how things taste and smell. This would be sufficient ground

Smells Nice



Omega Oil

You can tell by the smell of Omega Oil that it is different from any other liniment you ever saw. It has a peculiar and pleasant odor. Besides being the best remedy in the world for stopping pains, it is also the nicest to use. It is not made of turpentine or ammonia, but the body of it is a pure vegetable oil. Into this oil is put four other ingredients, one of which is a green herb that stops pain a good deal on the same principle that a puff of wind blows out a lamp, or water quenches a fire.

Omega Oil is good for everything a liniment ought to be good for.

No. 13

for appealing especially to visual images if the commodity was primarily a thing of sight. When the objects advertised are things primarily perceived by other senses than the eye, the greatest care should be taken to awaken those more difficult images, *i.e.*, those of sound, touch,

taste, smell, etc. The man who is blind and deaf is greatly handicapped. He cannot perceive color or hear sound, and (if always blind and deaf) cannot imagine sights and sounds. The sense organs have been called the windows of the soul. The more sensations we receive from an object the better we know it. The function of the nervous system is to make us aware of the sights, sounds, feelings, tastes, etc., of the objects in our environment. The nervous system which does not respond to sound or to any other sensible qualities is defective. Advertisements are sometimes spoken of as the nervous system of the business world. That advertisement of musical instruments which contains nothing to awaken images of sounds is a defective advertisement. That advertisement of foods which awakens no images of taste is a defective advertisement. As our nervous system is arranged to give us all the possible sensations from every object, so the advertisement which is comparable to the nervous system must awaken in the reader as many different kinds of images as the object itself can excite.

It might be well for a young man who expects to make a profession of writing advertisements to make a test of his own mental imagery. If he finds that he is peculiarly weak in visual imagery he should seek employment with a firm that handles goods other than those which are particularly objects of sight, *e.g.*, pictures. The man who cannot imagine how a musical instrument sounds should hesitate to write the advertisements of a musical house. The man who cannot imagine how foods taste will be greatly handicapped in attempting to write advertisements for food products. Forms of mental imagery may, to a limited extent, be cultivated, and, by giving special attention to the sub-

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ject, one with a weak form of imagery may greatly improve upon his former efforts, in which he followed out his natural bent without considering the forms of mental images which could be appealed to by his particular class of goods.

VIII

ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS

EVERY one has wondered how it happens that a thought or idea has suddenly and unexpectedly entered his mind. Not infrequently the particular idea had not been entertained for years,—perhaps it had no apparent connection with the present line of thought,—and yet here it is, seemingly unaltered and as distinct as it had been years before.

If anything in the world has the appearance of lawlessness, it certainly is the flight of thought in these minds of ours. We can go from Chicago to Peking; from the present moment to the building of the pyramids or the creation of the universe. We can pick out any object or event included within the borders of space or time. We can go from any one of these objects or events to any other in an instant of time, and whole multitudes of them may be passed in review in scarcely more than a single second. It would be difficult to imagine anything less confined and apparently less subject to laws than the human mind.

Furthermore, no two minds are alike. Men differ as to facial expression in a much less degree than in the manner in which they think.

However hopeless the task may seem at first sight, it is nevertheless true that from the time of Aristotle down to the present day great thinkers have been engaged in trying to find laws according to which the mind acts. They have not been content with the surprise which they have felt when an idea has unexpectedly entered their minds, but they have gone further and sought for the

laws which regulate this sudden appearance. Much progress has been made, and the mind is gradually being recognized as consistent and law-abiding as are all other things in the universe.

In many cases we can readily see why we are thinking of particular things at a specified time. As I walk down a busy street, unless I am oblivious to my surroundings my thought is determined for me by the objects which surround me. My eye is caught by an artistically decorated window in which sporting goods are displayed. My mind is fully occupied for the time with the perception of these articles. The perception of one object is superseded by the perception of another, and in most cases nothing but the present objects are thought of, and this perception of present objects does not recall to my mind any objects which I have seen at other times. It happens, however, that as I see a sweater I think of the sweater which I used to wear, and then of the circumstances which attended its destruction. My mind is next occupied with the perception of clothing, millinery, etc., as these objects, one after the other, meet the direct gaze of my eyes. At the sight of shoes I am reminded of my need for a new pair; then of the particular make of shoes which I ordinarily wear; then of the pair which I purchased a few months ago and of the circumstances attending the purchase. So I may go on for hours, and in a large part my thoughts will be limited to the perception of objects and events which surround me, but in certain cases (*e.g.*, sweater and shoes) the perception suggests a previous experience. In the case of simple perception the mind seems to act under the ordinary laws of cause and effect. The objects on the street affect me and the perceptions are the result. What my

thoughts shall be determined for me by the external objects which affect my sense organs.

✓ Under other circumstances the mind seems to be independent of surrounding objects and to supply the food for thought from former experiences. This is especially true in dreams, sleepless nights, and reveries. Its working is clearly seen in all cases where we are not distracted by external objects and do not attempt to direct the thought along any particular line. Some time ago I read President Roosevelt's decision concerning the Sampson-Schley controversy. After retiring for the night I found that I was thinking of the Rocky Mountains, New Orleans, the Boer war, an Evanston dining-room, the siege of Peking, the recent action of the dowager empress, the American army and navy, and then of the Sampson-Schley controversy again. The interesting part of each idea tends to suggest, or to recall to the mind some previous experience with which this interesting part had been previously associated. As I thought of the Sampson-Schley controversy, the interesting thing just then was that it had been reviewed by President Roosevelt. The interesting thing about President Roosevelt just then was that he had hunted in the Rockies. The interesting thing about that was that he had ridden a horse. In a similar manner the horse suggested New Orleans, where recent shipments of horses had been made to South Africa. This suggested the Boer war, this a conversation on war by a young lady who had returned to Evanston from China. She suggested Peking; Peking suggested the dowager empress; she suggested her recent actions; these changed conditions suggested the American army and navy; and they suggested Sampson and Schley, and they the controversy.

As I walk along the street the action of my mind, even when not confined to bare perceptions, seems different from its action on the sleepless night. As far as the association of ideas is concerned, however, the action is practically identical. In the first case the perceptions of external objects (sweater and shoes) are effective in calling up ideas or experiences with which they had formerly been associated. In the second case the ideas are effective in calling up other ideas with which they had formerly been associated.

The statement of the law as it applies to both cases and expressed in general terms is: "*Whenever there is in consciousness one element of a previous experience, this one element tends to bring back the entire experience.*" Things thought together or in immediate succession become "associated," or welded together so that when one returns it tends to recall the others. The sight of a shoe suggested the entire "shoe experience," in which I had entered a store, purchased a pair of shoes, carried on a conversation with the proprietor, etc. The thought of President Roosevelt suggested an entire "Roosevelt experience," *i.e.*, President Roosevelt mounted on a horse, attired in a particular costume, amid particular scenery, etc.

But I had had many other "shoe experiences" and many other "President Roosevelt experiences." How did it happen that the shoe suggested the particular shoe experience which it did, and not tennis shoes which I had purchased recently, or the wooden shoes which I had examined years before? Why did not President Roosevelt suggest his trip to see his sick son, or his African exploration, or his death, or his literary productions? Each "one element in a previous experience" has been one element in many previous experiences.

Which one of these previous experiences will be suggested by the "one element" is the problem which is of interest to us.

If we knew a person's past history completely, and if we knew the present external stimulus and the present condition of his mind, we could tell with some degree of certainty what the next idea would be which is to enter his mind. The laws upon which this certainty is based are the three following:

The first law is that of *habit* based on repetition.

According to this law *the idea next to enter the mind is the one which has habitually been associated with [the interesting part of] the one present to the mind.* The sight of a shoe, the printed word "shoe," the spoken word "shoe," and the felt need of a shoe, each calls to my mind this particular make of shoes with which I have been familiar for years. I have perceived a shoe as a "Douglas"; I have seen "Douglas" and "shoe" printed together; I have heard "Douglas" and "shoe" spoken together; I have seen the portrait of Mr. Douglas and a cut of his shoe appearing together; I have met my need for shoes with a "Douglas." All these associations have been frequent and have become so welded together with constant use that when shoe enters my mind, it draws its habitual associate, Douglas, with it.

The second law is that of *recency*.

If two things have been recently connected in the mind, when one is thought of again it suggests the other also. One day I read and thought of the exportation of horses from New Orleans. I do not know that horses and New Orleans were ever associated in my mind but this single time, but the next day as I thought of President Roosevelt as mounted on a horse, the thought of

horse immediately suggested its recent associate, New Orleans. The recency of this association made it effective. If I had read of this exportation a month before instead of on the preceding day, it is not probable that this associate would have been suggested.

The third law is that of *vividness* or *intensity*.

If my present thought has been associated with a thousand different objects, that one will be suggested with which it has been most vividly associated.

When I thought of the Boer war, war suggested the siege of Peking because the lady who had returned from China described the siege of Peking in such a thrilling manner—war and the siege of Peking were so intensely associated—that when I thought of war, war suggested this particular association. The association between war and Peking was not only vivid, but was also habitual and recent, even if these latter elements do not seem so prominent.

Psychologists are practically agreed that these are the three special laws of the association of ideas and that the "idea which shall come next" conforms to these three simple formulæ.

The law of habit is very much more important than the other two. When one element has been associated with one experience habitually, with another recently, and with still another vividly, the chances are that the habitual experience (associate) will be recalled. If, however, the one element has been associated with a certain experience habitually, recently, and vividly, this one element will certainly call up this particular experience and none of the multitudes of other experiences with which it had been associated.

The application of all this to advertising is direct. The merchant desires so to advertise his goods that

his particular brand or article will be the only one suggested whenever his class of goods is thought of.

Let the reader of this article test the truthfulness of the preceding analysis. Test it and see whether the laws of habit, recency, and vividness cover all the cases of association of ideas in your own mind. Think over your possible needs in wearing apparel. Where would you go to supply that need, and what quality or make would you get? As you think of these possible needs what names, brands, or qualities are suggested? Now analyze these ideas and see if they do not all conform to the three laws given above. You are probably surprised to see how many of the ideas are those which you have habitually associated with that class of goods. Try the same experiment with articles of food, luxury, investment, etc., and you will be convinced that the advertisements which are the most often seen have a great advantage over those which are less often seen.

Long years ago you formed the habit of putting your coat on in a particular way. Perhaps you put the right sleeve on first, perhaps the left. You have formed the habit of putting it on just one way and you will put it on just that way as long as you live. If you put on the right sleeve first this morning, you will put it on the same way to-morrow morning and every other morning. Of course you could change and put the left sleeve on first, but you won't do it. The mind forms habits of thought and when they are once established they are controlling factors in the action of the mind. As a boy I associated certain names with certain articles of merchandise. I saw a particular soap advertised in various ways. Perhaps it was used in my home—I am not sure about that. This name and soap were so habitually associated in my mind as a boy that when I think of

soap this particular soap is the kind I am most likely to think of even to the present time, although it has not been called to my mind so often of recent years as other kinds of soap. As far as the association of ideas is concerned, that advertisement is the most effective which is most often thought of in connection with the line of goods advertised, but the associations formed in youth are more effective than those formed in later years. Their effectiveness is lasting and will still have influence as long as the person lives. Hence goods of a constant and recurrent use might well be advertised in home or even in children's papers, and the advertisements might be so constructed that they would be appreciated by children.

Whenever I think of photographic instruments I think of one particular make of cameras. If I should feel a need of buying a camera, I would find immediately that I was thinking of this particular make. If I were called upon to recommend a camera, this one would always suggest itself to me first. It is suggested immediately and involuntarily. In my particular case this advertisement of cameras is successful and for me has a decided prestige over all other cameras. If I try to think out the reason why this particular one is suggested whenever I need or think of cameras, it seems to me that it is because it complies with both the laws of habit and vividness. I do not remember to have noticed any advertisement of cameras recently, nor have I had any occasion to think of them for some time. I do know, however, that for several years I saw this advertisement repeatedly—therefore it is with me an habitual association. I also remember that at one time I read a booklet published by this company and that it impressed me profoundly—therefore it is for me a vivid association.

If you made the test recommended above, you found that in some cases goods were suggested that were not the ones habitually thought of, but those which had been recently in the mind. Perhaps they had only been brought to your attention this single time. Although the effectiveness of habitual associations is all the more lasting the longer the advertisement is maintained, it gradually diminishes unless the repetition is continued. The recent associates are brought back to the mind with the greatest readiness, and in some cases they prevail over the merely habitual. This emphasizes the necessity of keeping up the repetition to make the habitual most effective, to form the most recent associate, and thus take advantage of the prestige gained by former advertising. Only by frequent advertising are the habitual associations formed and the recent associates constantly made.

You also noticed in your experiments that certain goods were suggested of which you had not recently thought and of which, perhaps, you had thought but once in your life. This one time you had seen a very striking advertisement, or had heard the goods highly recommended by a friend, or had seen and used the goods. For instance, one vivid and intense association of hats and Smith was so strong that at the very thought of hats Smith's name presented itself too. You thought of Smith and hats at the same time, and the two thoughts were so vivid that they became welded together by the white heat of the mind, and so when hats are in the mind Smith must come with them. This shows that sometimes doing extraordinary things in advertising may succeed when it is desired to make a great impression and to have the associations formed under this white heat. It may be admitted that this sort of ad-

vertising has been successful in some cases. The law is that the mind is in general gradually molded. Lines of thought are developed and not suddenly formed. The advertiser who attempts suddenly to take the world by storm has "to go against nature" and is consequently at a very great disadvantage.

The entire subject of association of ideas may be made clearer and more definite if, in conclusion, its action in another concrete case is given. For years I have seen the statement that the Burlington Railroad goes to Colorado. I have thus thought Burlington and Colorado together, and every time they have entered my mind together they have become more tightly welded together, or associated, until now Colorado is no sooner in my mind than I find that Burlington is also there. When I analyze this association to see how it has been formed, I find, in the first place, that for years I have seen the words Burlington and Colorado together. I have thought the two ideas together repeatedly, and the association has become habitual. In the second place, I find that but yesterday I saw the words Burlington and Colorado together and thought the two thoughts together and so the association was recent. In the third place, I remember that some weeks ago I had been attracted by the Burlington advertisement in which a book about Colorado was offered for six cents. This advertisement impressed me, and I gave it a large amount of attention or active thought and so the association became vivid or intense.

If the merchant can make his name or brand to be the habitual, recent, and vivid associate with his class of goods, he will have such a prestige over all others that his success seems assured. The securing of this result should be one of the aims of the wise advertiser.

IX

FUSION

SOME years ago I was spending my Christmas vacation at my old home. One morning I was sitting in the library reading short stories. While I was reading, my sister went to the piano and began playing some of the tunes which she had played years before, and which I had particularly enjoyed. I did not notice the fact that she was playing at all, but I thought the stories were peculiarly beautiful. The next day I remarked about them and had occasion to refer to them. I was greatly disappointed upon reading them the second time to find that they were very commonplace and that ordinarily they would not have pleased me at all. If I had paid strict attention to the short stories alone, they would have proved themselves to be very uninteresting. As it was, I paid partial attention to each and fused the music and the reading into one total impression which was extremely pleasing.

On certain occasions when friends are together all have a jolly good time. A spirit of good fellowship reigns, and every one is happy and contented. The stories told are appreciated and applauded. The jokes all seem so fitting and pertinent. Even if they have been heard before, they are so well told and so *apropos* that they are as good as new. The next day one is often chagrined when he tries to relate the stories and jokes, and to tell why he had enjoyed the occasion so well. The stories may have been mere commonplaces and the jokes

nothing but old standbys, but they did not stand alone; they were enforced and improved by the spirit of good fellowship which pervaded the company. The place, the stories, the jokes, the refreshments, the amusement, and the occasion all united their influences to make a total impression. They were fused together, and their total product was what had so delighted us. Any one of these things taken singly would have been insufficient to produce any pleasant result, but when taken collectively each shines in a borrowed light.

If I hold a lead-pencil vertically in my hand directly in front of my nose, the name of the manufacturer printed on the pencil will be barely visible, if it is on the extreme right side of the pencil. If, however, I close my right eye, the name disappears. If I make a mark on the pencil directly opposite the name of the manufacturer and hold the pencil as before, both the mark and the name are visible. If I close the right eye, the name disappears. If I close the left eye, the mark disappears. As I look at the pencil with my right eye I get a slightly different impression than I do when I look with my left eye, and *vice versa*. We are not conscious of these two partial impressions, for we fuse them into one total impression, which gives us a better perception of the pencil than is contained in the mathematical sum of the two partial perceptions. A discussion of the result of this fusion of the two impressions made upon the two eyes would be out of place at this point, but it might be remarked that among these results are accurate judgments of the distance and of the thickness of the pencil.

At any point of time we may be receiving impressions of sight through the eyes, impressions of sound through the ears, impressions of hunger or thirst from the body, and at the same time we may be thinking of former

experiences. All these impressions, sensations, ideas, etc., are fused together and have no separate existence. Each plays a part in determining the whole conscious impression or condition, but the parts do not exist alone. It is a general law of psychology that *all things tend to fuse and only those things are analyzed that must be analyzed*. In the beginning we perceive objects as concrete wholes and then later analyze the wholes into parts. If the first animal which a child sees should be a dog, it would see the dog as a very different thing from what it would later appear to him. It would be a dog, but his idea of it would be so indefinite that he would not notice whether it had four or six legs, whether it had ears or trunk, nose or bill, or whether it was white or black. By later experience the child would learn that the dog was of a particular color, had four legs, two ears, that it barked, ate, and that it had certain other peculiarities and characteristics. The expert in natural history and the dog fancier each notice certain things about the dog that the rest of humanity never sees at all. We grasp everything as a concrete whole first, and then by later experience we analyze this whole and add to it. The point to be emphasized is that *we do not first perceive the parts and unite them to form the greater wholes, but that we first perceive the wholes and only after the process of analysis has been completed do we perceive the parts*. There are certain products of fusion which by most of us are never analyzed at all. This is the case with the sensations which we receive whenever we breathe. With every breath the diaphragm contracts and expands, the muscles raise and lower the ribs, the lungs receive and discharge a volume of air, the air passages in the nose and windpipe enlarge and contract. All these play a

part in making the total sensation which we call breathing, but we cannot with ease analyze the different parts. They are fused together, and as it would be of no particular benefit to analyze the product we have never done so, and we never would have known that the feeling was the product of these elements unless we had reasoned it out first.

We know of no object which is independent of all other things. In fact, the value of all objects depends upon the relationships which they have to other things. We think of things only in their relations, and these relationships fuse and constitute the object as we know it. Anthracite or bituminous coal, yellow clay and black loam, can all be thought of as pure and clean, but under certain conditions they become dirt. None of these are dirt in themselves, but in certain abnormal positions they are nothing but filth. When bituminous coal is on the face of the coal heaver it is almost impossible to think of it as coal. It has ceased to be coal and has become dirt because of the abnormal environment into which it has come.

The manner in which the environment fuses with an article and determines its value is well illustrated by food in a restaurant. The food may be of the very best quality and the preparation may have been faultless, yet if the service is poor,—if the waiter's linen is dirty and his manner slovenly,—the food does not taste good and is not appetizing. You may reason out that the waiter has nothing to do with the preparation of the food and that his linen has not come into contact with it, but all your reasoning will do you but little good. The idea of dirty linen and this particular food are in your mind indissolubly united, and now, instead of thinking of food in the abstract, you are compelled to think of food in this

particular relationship, and the result is anything but appetizing.

The same thing is illustrated in all places of business. Stores and offices have a tone or atmosphere about them, and everything they have to offer is seen through this atmosphere. I heard a gentleman say recently that he had gone to a particular store to buy a certain article. The store was recommended to him and he was convinced that it was the best place to buy the merchandise desired. When he entered the store he found such a shoddy tone to the entire establishment that he could not believe that the goods which were shown him were desirable. If he could have seen the goods in another store he would have purchased them at once, but he could not convince himself that the goods shown him there were what he wanted, so he left without purchasing them. We are not able to look at things impartially and abstractly, but we judge of everything in the light of its environment—it fuses with its environment and the environment becomes a part of it.

The principle of fusion is a subject which should be carefully considered in placing an advertisement. If we could think quite analytically and see the advertisement just as it is, and as a thing independent of its environment, it might be profitable to place our advertisements on garbage boxes and in cheap and disreputable publications. As we are constructed, however, such a course would be suicidal, even for a house dealing in disreputable and cheap articles. *The medium gives a tone of its own to all the advertisements contained in it.* Personally I feel inclined to respect any firm that advertises in a high-class magazine, and unless there is some particular reason to the contrary am willing to trust its honesty. I have always regarded handbills as

cheap and irresponsible, and usually think of the goods advertised in this way as belonging to the same category.

In the course of a conversation, a very intelligent lady recently said to me that she never read the advertisements in any of the magazines excepting in her home religious paper. Here she read not only all the reading matter, but all the advertisements as well. I asked her why she read these advertisements, and she said that she knew they could be depended upon. She had the utmost confidence in the editor and believed that he knew every firm advertising, and that by accepting its advertisement and publishing it he thereby gave it his stamp of approval. No advertisement appearing in this periodical was compelled to stand on its own merit alone, so far as she was concerned, but had added to it the confidence inspired by this publication. The advertisement and her confidence fused and formed a whole in which the lady never suspected that any other element entered than those which were in the advertisement itself. The lady referred to did not read the advertisements in other magazines as a usual thing. I have seen her turn over the advertising pages of other magazines to see whether there was anything there that interested her. She reads the advertisements in her favorite magazine and merely looks over the others.

In choosing the publications in which he should place his advertisement, the advertiser should not only consider the circulation and the kind of circulation, but he should also consider the tone which each publication would add to his particular advertisement. It is well to have a large number of persons read your advertisement; it is better to have those read it who are interested in it and have the means to purchase the goods advertised; but it is still better to have a large number of the right

kind of persons see your advertisement in a publication which adds confidence and recommends it favorably to your prospective customers. Your advertisement will, to a greater or less extent, fuse with the publication in which it appears, and the product will not be your advertisement as it was prepared by you, but as it comes out of the mold into which you inserted it.

The statement that a man is known by the company he keeps is not often challenged, and yet the statement would have been equally true if asserted of an advertisement. If a man is seen frequently in the company of rascals, we think at once that he has become a rascal, but do not suppose that he has reformed his associates. The honorable man loses his reputation by associating with dishonorable persons. An honest firm which advertises in a disreputable sheet and brings its advertisement into association with advertisements of a disreputable character lays itself open to suspicion. The firm may be so well known that it would not be greatly injured by such a course, and it might by its presence raise the standard of the other advertisements. Such a work of philanthropy is too expensive and dangerous to recommend itself to the better known firms. If, on the other hand, a disreputable firm should place its advertisement in a high-grade publication and among honest advertisers, it would for a time at least enjoy the confidence inspired by the publication and by the other advertisements. Every honest firm which advertises should insist, however, that all dishonest advertisements be rejected, for, unless this is done, the honest men lose and the dishonest ones gain. The advertisements of a publication are in the mind of the public all classed together, and if it is known that one of them cannot be trusted, all are brought into disrepute.

Because of this principle of fusion, it is imperative that the advertiser should see that the make-up of the publication is not detrimental to his particular advertisement. Your advertisement would be injured, if, in the make-up, your advertisement of diamonds was placed among advertisements of a questionable character. If I should see an advertisement of an investment scheme that guaranteed unusually large profits, I would suspect fraud at once and would assume a skeptical attitude. If the next instant I should read your advertisement of diamonds, I would be suspicious and would hardly know why I was so. If the next moment I should read the advertisement of a medicine that cured all sorts of incurable diseases, my suspicions would be confirmed, and I would be sure that your diamonds were paste. If, on the other hand, I should see your advertisement placed among those which I knew to be reliable, I would be inclined to classify yours with the others, and would think that it was at least worth while to investigate the matter.

The cut here shown (No. 1) is a good illustration of the violation of the proper consideration of the principle of fusion in the make-up of the advertisements of a daily paper. In a Chicago daily for June 22, 1902, appeared three partial columns giving announcements of deaths and burials. Inserted in the middle column was this advertisement for Dr. Sleight's fat-reducing tablets. It might be said that this advertisement would attract attention because of its position, but the effect of the atmosphere of death and burials upon the fat-reducing tablets is too apparent to need comment.

Many of those who choose illustrations for their advertisements follow the philosophy of the Irish boy who said that he liked to stub his toe because it felt so good

when it stopped hurting. Many of us are unable to see how the boy had made any gain after it was all over, but he was satisfied and that was sufficient. The philosophic disciples of the Irish boy are found in advertisers who have certain things to dispose of which will not do certain harmful things. First they choose an illustration which will make you believe that what they have to sell

THEATRE

[illegible]

No. 1

is just what you do not want, and then in the text they try to overcome this false impression, and to show you that what they have to offer is not so bad after all. Most of us are unable to see how the advertiser has gained, even if he has succeeded in giving us logical proof that his goods are not so bad as we were at first led to think. We are not logically inclined, and we take the illustration and the text and combine the two. The best that the text can do is to destroy the evil effect of the illustration. Of course, when we read in the text that the illustration does not correctly represent the goods, we

ought to discard the illustration entirely and think only of the text, but, unfortunately, we are not constructed that way. The impression made by the illustration and that made by the text fuse and form a whole which is the result formed by these two elements.

In No. 2 of the reproduced advertisements the advertiser wants to bring out the fact that his insect powder will not kill human individuals, but will kill insects. The line of his argument would seem to be the exhibition of a picture of the skull of a person killed by his insect powder. He then confidentially assures you that his



No. 2



No. 3

powder is "non-poisonous to human." Most people who notice the advertisement see the picture of the skull, but fail to see the "non-poisonous to human."

The "ad-smith" of No. 3 is trying to convince the public that his fountain pen will not blot. He shows us a cut of his pen doing just what he wants us to believe it will not do. If we could look at the cut, then forget it entirely and read the text without being biased by the cut, this form of argumentation might be successful, but that is not the way in which we think.

Advertisement No. 4 apparently illustrates the proprietor of the rug company as an escaped convict. The text makes no reference to this fact, but tries to impress

upon us the idea that this is the gentleman with whom we should deal.

Advertisement No. 5 is the advertisement of a sweet-smelling cigar. The way the designer of the advertisement goes about it to convince us that his cigars are



LEFT BEHIND.

Our plan of selling all carpets from manufacturer to consumer leaves our competitors out of the race. Ingrains, Brussels, Velvets, Axminsters, Moquette, Devonshire, are all on the list.

If it's Rugs, that's our specialty; in fact, we make it a point to furnish homes complete with floor coverings that are proper, and we do not duplicate fine patterns.

Carpet cleaning and laying, feather renovating. Rugs from old carpets.

**Petoskey Rug Mfg.
and Carpet Co. Ltd.**
455 Mitchell Street.

No. 4

sweet smelling is to show us Uncle Sam smoking a cigar which evidently has a very bad odor. In small type he asserts that his cigars are not so bad, but I would not have read that part of the advertisement unless I had had an abnormal interest in poor advertisements.

Advertisement No. 6 represents the "restful race," and does so by displaying a lady on such a wheel being chased by an infuriated bulldog. One of the most un-

pleasant things that can happen to a bicycle rider, and one of the things which might deter some ladies from buying a bicycle, is this fact that bicycle riders are liable to be chased by dogs. The writer of this advertisement, by means of this illustration, practically tells every pos-



No. 5



No. 6

sible customer to hesitate before she buys this wheel, because, if she buys it, she is likely to be chased by dogs.

In advertisement No. 7 the author is trying to bring out the point that insects do not infest this particular brand of rolled oats. In his illustration he shows great crowds of insects swarming about it. If you examine the advertisement you see that, although the insects do have a particular liking for this kind of oats, they cannot get at them till the can is once opened. To my mind this brand of rolled oats and insects are so firmly united that I cannot think of the food without thinking of the insects.

Ordinarily the Quaker Oats advertisement has been identified by the presence of the good Quaker. He looks strong, hardy, clean, and honest. In No. 8 we have a portrait of a man who is disgusting in appearance. He

**THIS IS THE ORIGINAL
HERMETICALLY SEALED
PACKAGE OF CEREALS**
*Same Quantity as contained in usual-
Size two-pound Package*

HIGHEST
AWARD
GOLD MEDAL
PAN-AMERICAN
EXPOSITION

2 LBS. COMPRESSED ROLLED OATS
ROYAL SEAL
PREPARED BY OUR OWN PROCESS AND IN
STERILIZED CONTAINERS UNDER PATENT
MACHINERY GUARANTEED
THE GREAT WESTERN CEREAL CO.

For Sale by Grocers Everywhere

The careful preparation given the contents of this package, justifies the manufacturers in claiming that it will keep indefinitely in good condition, and upon serving, present a flavor and bouquet, unequalled by any cereal ever offered to the public.

Directions for Opening and Cooking on Each Can

THE GREAT WESTERN CEREAL COMPANY, Chicago, Ills.

No. 7

fuses with oats, and the product is something which is not appetizing and is a food which I do not care to taste. I have always thought of Quaker Oats as something particularly clean and healthful, and my idea was determined in part by associating the food with the Quaker.

When this advertisement is before me, I think that Quaker Oats are fit to eat only on condition that I abstract the thought of the food from that of this filthy-looking specimen of humanity.

In an advertisement of food products the cut is com-



Short-sighted man—lacks penetration.

He is a short-sighted man indeed who cannot see the other end of the medical breakfast food bottle. Any food that cradles digestion all the time must weaken digestion at last by sheer lack of exercise. A strong digestion might not be greatly weakened by a diet of rich foods,—but even the strongest digestion cannot withstand the weakening effects of laboratory foods. Only a short-sighted man will deny that natural digestion must be relied on after all for assimilation of the food elements which the body demands,—and the better the digestion the better the prospect of health. The way to preserve the strength of natural digestion is to offer it only natural food. The one natural food that fills every need of body and nerve and brain,—that gives every food element in exactly the proportions demanded by the human system,—is

Quaker Oats

No other food has ever been granted that standard favor in which Quaker Oats is held at a million well-served breakfast tables.

You'll see the reason, unless you are

A SHORT-SIGHTED MAN.

No. 8

parable to the waiter in a restaurant. We know that the waiter does not prepare the food, yet he is the representative of the kitchen, and we will not enter a restaurant if the waiter looks repulsive. In a similar manner we know that the cut in an advertisement has nothing to do with the food advertised, but the cut is

the representative of the food, and we do not want the food if its representative looks repulsive.

All the advertisements here reproduced seem to be constructed in total disregard to the great principle of fusion which plays an important part in all our thinking. In all these advertisements the cut and the text (*e.g.*, in the first advertisement the deaths and funerals and the tablet advertisement) fuse, and each plays its part in forming the total impression. *We are not able to think of the text without thinking of or being influenced by the illustration.*

The ordinary man and woman are not accustomed to critical logical thinking. They are not accustomed to consider an object or argument on its own merits and independent of all other things. They are more inclined to take objects, arguments, and events in their entirety. They fuse all the impressions of a particular situation into one total impression, and are influenced by events in their totality without being able to analyze the elements which have united to form the whole. If those who construct and place advertisements would consider this principle of fusion, they would be more careful in their choice of mediums, in the association of advertisements, in the make-up and in the construction of the individual advertisements.

X

MEMORY

IMPRESSIONS once received leave traces of themselves, so that, in imagination, we can live over the same experiences and can recognize them as related to our past. This knowledge of former impressions, or states of mind, which have already once dropped from consciousness, is what is known as memory.

I can imagine how the jungles of Africa must look. This is an act of productive imagination. Yesterday I was on the corner of Fifth avenue and Lake street in Chicago. I heard the shouts of teamsters, the rattle of passing vehicles, and the roar of elevated trains; I saw the people, the wagons, and the cars. To-day I can, in imagination, live over the same experience, and as I do so I recognize the experience as belonging to my past. I am therefore remembering my past experience.

As I try to recall the street scene of yesterday I find that many of the details have escaped me. I cannot remember how the teamsters looked nor what sort of cries they were uttering. I remember that there were teamsters and that they were shouting at their horses, but I cannot, in my imagination, see their faces or hear their voices as I did yesterday. In short, my memory has faded, and has faded rapidly. It is not likely that any memory is so vivid as the original experience, neither does it contain all the details of the actual experience. Immediately after crossing the street I could

have described the scene much better than I could now. A year hence I shall probably have forgotten all about it.

Our memories gradually fade with time. Professor Ebbinghouse, of Germany, was the first to try to find out exactly how fast our memories do fade. Since he published his thesis many others have taken up the work, and his and their results are fairly well established and definite. They have found that our memories are at their best two seconds after the experience has taken place. After two seconds the memory fades very rapidly, so that in twenty minutes we have forgotten more of an experience than we shall forget in the next thirty days.

We forget very rapidly during the first few seconds, minutes and hours. What we remember a day is a very small part of our experiences, but it is the part which persists, as the memory fades very slowly after the first day. What we remember for twenty minutes and what we can get others to remember for that time is of great concern, for it is what we and they remember for longer times also.

What the practical business man wants to know about memory can be put in two questions.

First, how can I improve my own memory?

Second, how can I so present my advertisements that they will be remembered by the public?

It is not possible for a person with a poor memory to develop a good one, but every one can improve his memory by the observance of a few well-known and thoroughly established principles. The first principle is *repetition*. If you want to make sure that you will remember a name, say it over to yourself. Repeat it in all the ways possible—say it over aloud, write it, look at it after it is written, think how it sounded when

you heard the name, recall it at frequent periods and until it has become thoroughly fixed in your mind.

The second principle is *intensity*. If you want to remember a name, pay the strictest possible attention to it. If you apply the first principle and repeat the name, then you should pay the maximum amount of attention to every repetition. In this way the process of learning will be so reduced that a single repetition may be enough, and still the name may be retained for a long period of time. (2)

The third principle is that of *association*. The things which we think over, classify and systematize, and thus get associated with our previous experience, are the things which we commit most easily and retain the longest. (3)

As a boy at school I learned by repetition that Columbus discovered America in 1492. At that time this was to me an entirely disconnected fact. It was not associated with anything else, and so cost me great effort of attention and frequent repetition before I had it thoroughly memorized. At a later time I was compelled to learn the approximate date of the fall of Constantinople, the application of the compass to navigation, the invention of printing, the time of the activity of Copernicus, Michelangelo, Titian, Dürer, Holbein, etc. Such a list of unconnected dates would have cost me much unprofitable effort if I had been compelled to learn them separately. As it was, I connected them all with the date of the discovery of America, and saw that these men and these events were all contemporaneous and together made what is known as the Renaissance.

The details of a business or professional life which are connected in a series are not hard to learn, and

are not soon forgotten. A man may have no trouble from forgetting the details of his business or profession, yet may have a poor memory for all events not thus associated.

(4) The fourth principle is that of *ingenuity*. I remember the name of Miss Low, for she is a short woman. I remember a friend's telephone, which is 1391, by thinking how unfortunate it is to have such a number to remember—13 is supposed to be an unlucky number, and 91 is seven times 13.

This method is applicable only to disconnected facts which we find difficulty in remembering by the methods given before. It is, however, a method which was used by the Roman orators and has been used more or less ever since. There is probably no one who does not make frequent use of it in attempting to remember names, dates, figures, and similar data.

We all appreciate the value of a good memory, and are willing to pay any one who will tell us how to train ours. This condition of affairs has made "memory training" a profitable business for the fakir. It is fairly well established now that one's native retentiveness is unchangeable. One who has an unretentive memory cannot possibly change it by any method of training. All he can do is to improve on his method of acquiring and recording knowledge.

The third principle given above—association—is the one by far of the most importance.

The fourth principle is the one of least general application; indeed if an attempt is made to apply it too frequently, it becomes worse than useless, yet it is the principle used by most persons who have "memory training" to sell.

When the question arises,—how to construct an ad-

vertisement so that the reader cannot forget it, we find that the question is answered by the proper application of the principles enunciated above. The advertisement that is repeated over and over again at frequent intervals gradually becomes fixed in the memory of the

VITALIZED PHOSPHITES.



Brain
and
Nerve
Food,

From the phospho-
phide principle of
the Os Brain and
the Embryo of
Wheat.

Has been used more than thirty years by thousands of active business men and women, from whom sustained, vigorous application of brain and nervous power is required, promptly relieving the depression from overwork, worry, nervous excitement, and sleeplessness, increasing activity and vital force by feeding the brain and nerves with the exact food they require for their nutrition and normal action.

May we send you a descriptive pamphlet?

PREPARED BY

J. Crosby & Co.

56 West 25th Street,
New York City.

If not found at Druggist's, sent by mail (\$1.00).

CROSBY'S COLD AND CATARRH CURB.

The best remedy in existence for cold in the head and sore throat. By mail, 50 cents.

No. 1.—This advertisement is engraved on the memory by the expensive process of mere repetition.

reader. It may be a crude and an expensive method, but it seems to be effective.

This method gains added effect by repeating one or more characteristic features, and by changing some of the features at each appearance of the advertisement. Thus the reproduced advertisement of Vitalized Phosphites (No. 1) is frequently repeated in identical form. We cannot forget this advertisement, but it has taken too many repetitions to secure the desired results.

The reproduced advertisement of Cream of Wheat (No. 2) is but one of a series of advertisements in all of which the colored chef appears prominently. This characteristic feature causes us to associate all of the series, and hence the effect of repetition is secured. At



No. 2.—This series of advertisements represents the central feature, but always in a new form.

the same time, there is sufficient diversity, because the colored chef is never represented in the same way in any two of the advertisements as they appear from month to month. Similar statements could be made of a host of other excellent advertisements.

The advertisement which makes an intensive impression is one which the advertiser does not easily forget.

The methods for securing this intensity are many, but a few examples will serve to make the method plain.

Bright colors impress us more than dull ones. The bright-colored inserts and advertisements run in colors are remembered better than others, because they make a greater impression on us.

In any experience it is the first and the last parts of it that impress us most and that get fixed most firmly in our memories. The first and the last advertisements in a magazine are the most effective. Likewise the first and the last parts of any particular advertisement (unless very short) are the parts that we remember best.

The back cover-page is valuable because when the magazine is lying on a table the back cover-page is likely to be turned up, but in addition to that it is a valuable page because it is likely to be the first or the last seen by most readers.

The second cover-page is valuable because it is so likely to be seen first, and even to be seen by those who do not look at the advertisements in the back of the magazine—if such persons still exist!

The intensity of the impression which an advertisement makes is dependent upon the response which it secures from the readers. The pedagogue would call this action the "motor response," even though it were nothing more than the writing of a postal card. Such action is vital in assisting the memory of the readers.

An advertisement which secures a response sufficient to lead to the writing of a postal card has a chance of being remembered which is incomparably greater than that of other advertisements. The advertisement of Pompeian Massage Cream (No. 3) will not soon be forgotten by those who are induced to send the name of their dealer to the Pompeian Manufacturing Company.

Rhymes and alliterations are rhetorical forms which seem to be of great assistance when we attempt to commit verses, and even when we do not want to remember them the rhythm may make such an impression that we can't forget them. The "Spotless Town" is an illus-



No. 3.—Those who answer this advertisement will not easily forget it.

tration of a successful application of this psychological fact.

There is much poor advertising being done at the present time in a futile attempt to produce a successful imitation of the "Spotless Town." The rhythm and the alliteration must be excellent, else they make the whole attempt seem ridiculous, and the advertisement falls flat.

Anything humorous or ridiculous—even a pun—is hard to forget. But unless the attempt is successful, the result is ludicrous and futile. Furthermore, that

which impresses one person as funny may seem silly to another. The reproduced advertisement of Gold Dust (No. 4) seems funny to some, but does not to others. The reproduced advertisement of Rough on Rats (No. 5) impresses some persons as silly, while others think it funny.

Advertising is a serious business, and unless the advertisement is extremely clever, it is unwise to attempt



No. 4.—Those who laugh at this advertisement will remember it.

to present the humorous side of life, although it is highly valuable when well done.

Anything will be remembered which awakens our emotions, whether the thing be ugly or beautiful, whether it causes us to smile or to sympathize with the sorrows of others. That which excites an emotion is not easily forgotten, and hence is a good form of advertising, if it can convince the reason at the same time that it stimulates the feelings. The advertisement of Gold Dust (No. 4) pleases me and convinces me that the product is good. The advertisement of Rough on Rats (No. 5)

amuses me because it is so excessively silly. It does not please me, does not convince me of the desirability of the goods. I find that both advertisements have made such an intense impression on me that they have stuck in my memory, and I see no prospect of being able to forget them soon.

The writer of advertisements must consider the principle of association, and ordinarily does so, even if he does it unconsciously. He should present his argument in such a form that it will naturally and easily be asso-



No. 5.—An evident attempt to be humorous.

ciated by the reader with his own former experience. This is best done by appealing to those interests and motives which are the ruling principles of the reader's thinking. Personally, I should forget a recipe for a cake before I had finished reading it, but to a cook it is full of interest, and does not stand out as an isolated fact, but as a modification or addition of something already in his mind. The statement that the bond bears four per cent. interest is not forgotten by the capitalist; for he immediately associates the bond of which this statement is made with the group of similar bonds, and so the statement is remembered, not as an isolated fact,

1917-18-19

1918-19-20

1919-20-21

1920-21-22

1921-22-23

1922-23-24

1923-24-25

1924-25-26

1925-26-27

1926-27-28

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1958-59-60

1959-60-61

1960-61-62

XI

THE FEELINGS AND THE EMOTIONS

WE all know what is meant by pleasure and pain, by joy and grief. These feelings and emotions are not better understood after we have attempted to define them. They are known only by experience, and we are all familiar with them. In the present chapter we are interested in the effect which pleasure and pain and the different emotions have upon the mind and the body of the person experiencing them. These effects are not sufficiently recognized and yet they are of special significance to the advertiser.

For the sake of brevity we shall use the word "pleasure" not merely to express such simple pleasures as tasting an appetizing morsel, but also to express such pleasurable emotions as joy, love, benevolence, gratitude, pride, etc. The word "pain" or "displeasure" will likewise be used to express simple painful sensations and also emotions which involve pain, such as fear, hate, jealousy, antipathy, etc.

Every pleasurable and every painful experience has a direct reflex effect on the bodily functions and also on the action of the mind. These effects are widespread and important. Some of these changes, even though significant, are not directly detected without the use of delicate recording instruments. Pleasures actually cause the limbs to increase in size, and, accompanying the physical change, is a feeling of expansiveness which

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serves to heighten the pleasure. With pain the limbs shrivel in size, and this is accompanied by a feeling of depression.

Under the influence of pleasure the efficiency of the heart-action is greatly enhanced. This increase of blood supply gives us a feeling of buoyancy and increased vitality, which greatly enhances the already pleasing experience. Displeasure, on the other hand, interferes with the normal action of the heart. This gives us a feeling of sluggishness and depression.

Pleasure assists the rhythmical action of the lungs and adds to the depth of breathing. These changes serve but to add to the already pleasing experience. Pain interferes with the rhythm of breathing, makes the lung action less deep, and gives a feeling of being stifled, hindered, and checked in carrying out our purposes.

Pleasant experiences increase our muscular strength and cause us to feel like men. We feel more like undertaking great tasks and have more faith in our ability to accomplish them. Pain decreases muscular strength and gives us a feeling of weakness and lack of confidence. Pleasures not only give greater strength to the voluntary muscles, but they affect directly the action of all the voluntary and involuntary muscles of the body. In pleasure the hands go out from the body, the shoulders are thrown back and the head elevated. We open up and become subject to the influences in our environment. Being pleased with what we are receiving, we become receptive and expand that we may take in more of the same sort. In pain the hands are drawn in towards the chest and the whole body draws in within itself as if to protect itself against outside influences. These actions of the body are reflected in the mental attitude. In pleasure our minds expand. We become extremely sug-

gestible, and are likely to see everything in a favorable light. We are prompt to act and confident of success. In pain we are displeased with the present experiences and so withdraw within ourselves to keep from being acted upon. We refuse to receive suggestions, are not easily influenced, and are in a suspicious attitude toward everything which is proposed. When in pain we question the motives of even our friends and only suspicious thoughts are called up in our minds.

These brief statements of facts serve to call to the reader's attention the mental attitude in which the person is placed by the influence of pleasure and pain. Keen observers of men have not been slow in profiting by these facts. In "Pickwick Papers," speaking from the viewpoint of the defendant, Dickens says: "A good, contented, well-breakfasted juryman is a capital thing to get hold of. Discontented or hungry jurymen always find for the plaintiff." Here Dickens expresses the fact that man is not pre-eminently logical, but that his thinking is influenced by his present state of feelings. If the juryman were discontented and hungry, he would be feeling pessimistic and suspicious and would believe in the guilt of the defendant.

The modern business man does his utmost to minister to the pleasure of the customers in his store. He knows they will place a larger order if they are feeling happy than if they are feeling otherwise. The American slang expression, "jolly up," means the pleasing by flattery of the one from whom it is desired to obtain a favor. The merchant attempts to please the customer by the appearance of the store, by courteous treatment, and by every other possible method. The same pains must be taken by the advertiser in his attempts to please those to whom his appeals are made. The methods open to the

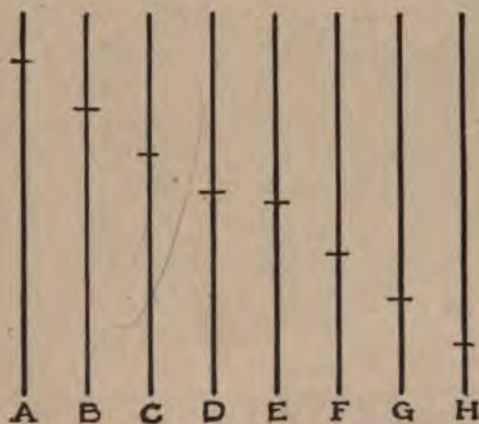
advertiser are relatively few and hence all available means should be employed most assiduously.

In the present chapter the importance of pleasing the advertiser by appealing to his esthetic sense will be emphasized, and suggestions will be given of concrete methods which are available to the advertiser in appealing to the sense of the beautiful.

To be beautiful a thing must possess certain characteristics which awaken a feeling of appreciation in the normal person. It is true that the artistic judgment is not possessed equally by all, or at least it is not equally developed in all. There are, however, certain combinations of sounds which are universally called harmonies and others which are called discords. There are certain combinations of colors which are regarded as pleasing and others which are displeasing. There are likewise certain geometrical forms or space arrangements which are beautiful, and others which are displeasing. The musician knows what tones will harmonize and which ones will not. The man without a musical education does not possess such knowledge, but he appreciates the harmony of tones when he hears it. The colorist knows how to produce pleasing effects with colors. He has acquired this knowledge which others do not possess, although they are able to appreciate his work. The artist knows how to produce pleasing effects with symmetry and proportion of space forms. The uninitiated does not possess such knowledge or ability, although he is able to appreciate the work of the artist and can distinguish it from the work of the novice.

Perhaps the simplest thing that could be suggested which would have an element of esthetic feeling connected with it is the bisection of a straight line. It seems almost absurd to suppose that the position of the

point of division in a straight line would have anything to do with a feeling of pleasure. Such, however, is certainly the case, but, as might be expected, the esthetic feeling is not very pronounced. As an illustration, look at No. 1. Here we have a series of straight vertical lines divided by short cross lines. Look at the lines carefully and you will probably feel that the lines A, B, and C are divided in a more pleasing manner than F, G, and H. In other words, if a straight vertical line is to be divided into two unequal parts, you prefer to



No. 1.—A series of bisected lines. Which bisection is the most pleasing?

have the division come above the middle. This is not an altogether unimportant discovery.

In judging of vertical distances, we overestimate the upper half. For this reason the line E, which is divided into two equal parts, appears to be divided into two slightly unequal parts and the lower section seems to be the smaller. The line D is divided at a point slightly above the middle, but it appears to be divided into two

exactly equal parts. Many persons would say that the line D is more pleasing than E, for D appears to be divided into two equal parts, while E appears as if an unsuccessful attempt had been made to divide the line into two equal parts.

Line D seems to be perfectly symmetrical—its two parts appear equal. The symmetry about this division pleases us, and most persons would say that this line, which is divided symmetrically, is more pleasing than A or H, which are not divided symmetrically.

The two parts of the lines A, B, C, and H appear too unequal and the two parts of line E appear too nearly equal. Lines C and F are very pleasing. They have divisions which do not seem to be too much alike, so the divisions give diversity. The parts are not so different that they destroy the feeling of unity in the line. A line is pleasing if its two parts are not too much alike and not too different. The ratio of the smaller section of the line to the larger section in C and F is approximately that of 3 to 5. That is to say, if a vertical line is eight inches long, the result is pleasing if the line is divided into two sections which are respectively 3 and 5 inches long. Exact experimentation and measurements of artistic productions show that there is a remarkable preference for this ratio, which is known as the "golden section." The exact ratio is that of 1 to 1.618, which is approximately that of 3 to 5. A line is divided most artistically, if the lower section is 1.618 times as great as the upper. Although this fraction seems very formidable, it is the arithmetical expression of a simple proportion which is this: the short section is to the longer section as the longer section is to the sum of both sections. Any division of a line which approximates this golden section is pleasing, but a division which approxi-

mates the symmetrical division (and is not quite symmetrical) is displeasing.

If you hold No. 1 sideways, the lines will all be changed from vertical to horizontal. The divisions will now assume a new relation. The divisions of lines A, B, and C cease to be more pleasing than those of F, G, and H. E now seems to be divided symmetrically and is more pleasing than D. In fact, for most persons the symmetrical divisions of E seem to be more pleasing than those of even C and F, which are divided according to the ratio of the "golden section." The most pleasing division of a horizontal line is that of perfect symmetry and the next most pleasing is that of the "golden section."

In these divisions of straight lines into two equal parts unity is secured; in the divisions according to the ratio of the golden section diversity is secured, and the unity is not entirely lost. Unity and diversity are essential elements in all esthetic pleasures. In vertical lines we seem to prefer the emphasis on the diversity, while in horizontal lines the exact symmetry, or unity, is most pleasing.

The discovery of the most pleasing proportion between the parts of straight lines would be of decidedly more importance if we should find that the same ratio holds for the parts of more complicated figures. Is a rectangle more pleasing than a square? (For the sake of brevity of expression we disregard the fact that a square is a particular form of a rectangle.) Men have been called on to decide this question times without number. By investigating a very large number of such decisions we may be able to discover something of value. The architect is called upon to decide this question every time he constructs a building in which the artistic effect plays

any part—and it always should. Think of the temples, palaces, cathedrals, cottages, museums, and all other structures in which the artistic element plays a large part. In a great proportion of these the height is not equal to the width. The individual rooms not infrequently bear the same ratios as the height and width of the entire building. Careful measurement of such structures has revealed a striking tendency to approximate what we have learned as the “golden section.” In fact, it was originally called the “golden section of architecture,” because it was discovered so uniformly in architecture.

Think of the shape of the flags of all nations, of all



No. 2.—A square and a rectangle. Which is the more beautiful?

the picture frames which you have ever seen, of window panes, mirrors, playing cards, sheets of paper, envelopes, books, periodicals, and all other objects in which the shape is determined to a greater or less extent by artistic demands. In most of these objects we find a very decided tendency to make the height equal the width, or else the height is to the width approximately as 3 is to 5.

Look at the square and the rectangle in No. 2. The height of the rectangle is to its base as 3 to 5. Most persons say that the rectangle is the more pleasing; some have a preference for the square. In the square we have

a very decided symmetry. Each line is equal to every other line. A straight line drawn through the center of the figure from any angle divides the figure into two equivalent parts. In the rectangle the height is not equal to the length, but a line drawn through the center of the figure divides it into two equivalent parts. The square seems to possess much symmetry but little diversity. The rectangle possesses both unity and diversity.

A very careful investigator of the esthetic value of the different space forms gives some interesting results as the fruits of his labors. Thus, a rectangle whose base is three per cent. greater than the height is more pleasing than the perfect square. This is accounted for because we overestimate the height of a square about three per cent. Thus the rectangle whose base is three per cent. greater than its height appears to be a perfect square and so is more pleasing than the perfect square. If the height of a rectangle is approximately eighteen per cent. greater or less than its base, the figure is displeasing because it looks like an imperfect square. If the difference in the two dimensions of the rectangle becomes as great as forty per cent., the effect is pleasing because the difference is great enough to make it evident that the figure was not meant for a square. If one dimension of the rectangle exceeds the other approximately sixty per cent., we have the ratio of the "golden section," and the result is more pleasing than it is for any other ratio of base to height. If one dimension of a rectangle exceeds the other by more than two hundred and fifty per cent., the result is not satisfactory. The difference between the two dimensions seems to become too great and the unity of the figure is weakened.

When we consider that the ratio of one dimension to the other is but a minor element in the total esthetic

effect, we are not surprised that we find exceptions to the conclusions reached in the foregoing, but the surprising thing is the lack of more exceptions. Buildings that exceed in height the ratio as given here do not look beautiful, and if the disproportion becomes great because of the excessive height, we call the buildings skyscrapers and regard them as eyesores to the American cities. A building whose width is many times its height is usually ugly and is designated as a shed.

That which has been said of the square and the rectangle holds equally true for the circle and the ellipse. A circle is a pleasing form which pleases because of its symmetry and regularity. An ellipse that is too much like a circle is much less pleasing than an ellipse in which the smaller diameter is to the greater one as 3 is to 5. The same holds true of a triangle also.

The space used by an advertiser is usually a rectangle. In choosing this space, does the advertiser take into consideration the relation of the height and width which will produce the most pleasing effect? He certainly does and the space he chooses meets the conditions of esthetic pleasure as given above, although he may be entirely unconscious of any such intention. Thus in an ordinary magazine the full page and the ordinary quarter-page (the upper right, upper left, lower right, and lower left) approximate most nearly the "golden section."

Next in the approximation to the standard is the division into upper and lower halves; next comes the horizontal quarter, and last the division into right and left halves. This order of esthetic effect is also the order of frequency of choice of space. The fact that a right or left half-page may be next to reading matter makes this division more popular than it otherwise would be.

Turn over the pages of advertisements in any magazine and look at the different spaces to see which class of spaces pleases you most and which least, and you will probably choose the spaces in the order as indicated above. (No mention has been made of small advertisements, but what has been said of the larger spaces holds true of the smaller also.)

Some advertisers have used narrow spaces which extend entirely across the page. The effect has not been pleasing, although such shapes might be striking, because of their oddity. It is to be hoped that no publisher will allow the pages of his magazine to be chopped up into vertical quarters, for the effect would be most inartistic.

The artistic subdivisions of spaces follow the laws of symmetry and proportion as given above. Almost every artistic production can be sub-divided into two equivalent parts by drawing a vertical line through the middle of it. Such symmetry as this is called bilateral symmetry. As a typical example of bilateral symmetry as well as pleasing proportion in an advertisement we reproduce herewith the advertisement of the Butler Paper Company (No. 3). The line drawn vertically through this advertisement divides it into two symmetrical parts. Every subdivision of the display and of the text is centered. The horizontal divisions are strictly bilateral symmetry. Dotted lines are drawn to indicate the vertical divisions. In this we see that the subdivisions are not equal, but increase from the bottom upward in a pleasing proportion. A marked display is found in the words "Snow Flake," which serve to divide the text into two unequal divisions which are related to each other in a pleasing proportion. Such an arrangement of the vertical subdivisions is certainly more pleasing

than equal subdivisions would be. By such subdivisions as we have here the unity of the page is not destroyed, and diversity is secured.

It should be observed that this advertisement of the Butler Paper Company has employed an unusually



No. 3.—An example of bilateral symmetry.

large number of figures which are symmetrical and many more which are arranged on the ratio of the "golden section." As a result, pleasing unity and diversity are both secured. The symmetry is pronounced in the twenty-four crystals or stars which are used as a decoration in the border. There are twelve different kinds of

stars, but each star has six main subdivisions and six minor subdivisions. There are enough stars to give diversity, and the stars are sufficiently alike to give unity to the border as a whole.

The white rectangle on which the text is found is slightly too long to be in the exact ratio of the golden section, while the darker border is too wide to meet the condition, but these rectangles are as near to the ratio of the golden section as could be produced in such a complicated figure as this.

It is no accident that the conventional ellipse at the top of the advertisement is in the same ratio as the rectangles, *i.e.*, that of the golden section. If this advertisement were either lengthened or shortened, its proportions would vary from that of the "golden section," and the results would be recognized by the ordinary observer as less satisfactory.

It is not necessary to exaggerate the importance of these laws of symmetry and proportion. They contribute an appreciable amount to the beautification of the advertising page and hence to the production of pleasure in the mind of every possible customer who sees the advertisement. Inasmuch as the pleasure of the customer is of such fundamental importance the advertiser cannot afford to neglect any element which contributes to the total pleasurable effect. There are other laws which are of importance in giving a pleasing effect to a page. Among such laws might be mentioned ease of comprehension, ease of eye-movement, appropriate point of orientation and utility.

Space will not admit of a presentation of these principles, but the purpose of this chapter has been attained if the reader has become impressed with the importance of pleasing the possible customer and with the sig-

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nificance of such simple laws as that of proportion and symmetry in accomplishing the desired result. These laws are of universal application in laying out advertisements and in choosing spaces, and an appreciation of their importance by the advertisers of the land would lead to a beautification of the advertising pages of our publications and hence to an increase in their value to the advertiser.

XII

APPEALS TO THE CUSTOMER'S SYMPATHY

In the last chapter we saw the significance of pleasure and pain in inducing the proper attitude in the minds of the customers. We also saw how a pleasing effect could be produced by the judicious use of the laws of symmetry and proportion in constructing advertisements. In the present chapter we shall continue the general discussion of the benefit of awakening the feelings and emotions and will confine the discussion to a single emotion, namely, that of sympathy.

By sympathy we mean in general a particular mental attitude which is induced by the realization of the fact that some one else is going through that particular form of experience. Thus I laugh and feel happy because those about me are rejoicing, and I weep because I see my friends weep. To a certain extent we seem to imagine ourselves as in the condition actually experienced by those about us and hence feel as we assume they must feel. The feelings awakened sympathetically are intense enough to cause weeping, laughing, and all the ordinary forms of expressing the emotions.

We are not indifferent as to the objects upon which we bestow our sympathy. I feel no sympathy with the tree that is struck by the woodman's axe nor for the stone that is crushed under the wheels of a traction engine. I may feel sympathy for the mouse whose nest is destroyed or for the horse that is cruelly treated. I sympathize with animals because I believe that they have feelings

similar to mine. I feel more sympathy for the higher animals (dogs and horses) than I do for the lower animals, for I believe that their feelings are more like mine. I have a certain amount of sympathy for all humanity,



THE WINTER RESORT of the world, *par excellence*, is Egypt, easily and directly reached by many luxurious Transatlantic liners from New York and Boston to Alexandria. Cook's Nile Steamers from Cairo to the First and Second Cataracts, (for the Sudan, Khartoum, etc.,) leave four times weekly November to March. Select Tours and high class Cruises from New York, January, February and March. Thirty Spring and Summer Tours to Europe for season 1904. For plans of steamers, printed matter, and to secure berths apply to

THOS. COOK & SON
New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago,
San Francisco, etc.

No. 1.—I do not share their pleasures.

but I sympathize most with those of my own set or clique, with those who think the same thoughts that I think and who are in every way most like myself. After those of this inner circle of acquaintances, my sympathy is greatest for those whom I might call my *ideals*. If I

desire to be prosperous, I feel keen sympathy with the man who appears to be prosperous. If I am ambitious to be a well-dressed man, I feel sympathetically towards those who are well dressed. If I desire to attain a certain station in life, I feel sympathetically with those who appear to have attained my ambition.

In the advertisement of Thomas Cook & Son (No. 1) I do not think of the old lady and gentleman as being of my class. They are not my ideals and I therefore have comparatively little sympathy with them. They are enjoying themselves immensely and probably never had a better time in all their lives than they are having as members of this touring party, but as I look at them I am not pleased at all. Their pleasure is not contagious so far as I am concerned. I seem to be immune from all their pleasures. I have no desire to imitate their actions and become a member of Cook's touring party.

In contrast with this first advertisement of Thomas Cook & Son their advertisement of "Niagara to the Saguenay" (No. 2) should be considered. The two persons depicted in this second advertisement approximate my ideals. They seem to be enjoying the trip immensely. I believe that they have good taste and if they choose this cruise for their vacation the same trip would be desirable for me too. In every case of sympathy we imitate to a certain degree the persons with whom we sympathize. The action of these young people stimulate me to imitate their action by purchasing a ticket from Cooks and starting on the trip.

No. 3 is a reproduced advertisement of a fat-reducing compound. The illustration is supposed to be ludicrous, but to me it is ridiculous. The fat lady in the illustration does not seem to make the best of a bad situation. She dresses in plaids, which, as every corpulent person



**COOK'S
TRAVEL SERVICE**

**Cruises in
Cool Latitudes**

NIAGARA TO THE SAGUENAY
Fourteen Delightful Vacation Days, including such points of interest as Toronto, Alexandria Bay; among the Thousand Islands by daylight and moonlight; down the noble St. Lawrence and its thrilling rapids to Montreal. Then

A WONDERFUL SIX-DAY CRUISE
on the magnificent steamship "Cape Eternity"—exclusively reserved—to the Saguenay River! Quebec, Lakes Champlain and George and the Hudson River conclude a tour of beautiful scenic routes unparalleled on this continent. Tours start from Chicago July 17th and 31st, August 14th and 28th. From Niagara Falls one day later. Early reservations advisable.

Ask for Particulars of Escorted and Individual Tours to
CANADIAN ROCKIES—ALASKA—PACIFIC COAST—
NATIONAL PARKS—EUROPE—BERMUDA—SOUTH
AMERICA—JAPAN—CHINA

THOS. COOK & SON, CHICAGO
203 South Dearborn St.

knows, serve but to increase the apparent size. Both the lady and the gentleman are the kind of people whom we do not admire, who are far from our ideals and who present but few elements of likeness to ourselves. The material advertised might be good for such persons as

TOO FAT



A person generally knows when he is becoming too fleshy. As a rule, however, he shuts his eyes to the fact, and believes it to be only temporary, until he suddenly realizes that he has gained many pounds and no remedy appears to be forthcoming. To you, who have deluded into this situation, we can offer truths that are beyond the shadow of questioning. We can bring down your weight, not by elaborate and expensive reduction remedies, but by simple treatment that brings health and strength in its train. Our files are filled with hundreds, yes thousands of testimonials to this effect, and are the best guarantees of our signal success. Here are two of many. Mrs. S. Mann, of La Motte, Ia., writes: **Six years ago I lost 70 lbs. of Fat in 3 months by the Hall method and I have not gained an ounce in weight since.**

LOST 40 POUNDS. Mr. Hugo Horn, 429 E. 63rd St., New York City, writes: "Three years ago I took a four months' treatment and was reduced 40 lbs. in weight. I have not gained any in weight since." We are giving away barrels and **Sample Boxes Free** just to prove how effective, pleasant and safe this remedy is, to reduce weight. If you want one, send us your name and address and 4c. to cover postage, etc. Each box is mailed in a plain sealed wrapper with no advertising on it to indicate what it contains. Price, large size box, \$1.00 postpaid. Correspondence strictly confidential. **Hall Chemical Co., Dept. H. M., St. Louis, Mo.**



No. 3.—Ridiculous but not ludicrous.

the illustration depicts, but that is no reason for me to imitate their actions and become one with them in any line of action.

No. 4 is a reproduction of an advertisement of a fat-reducing tablet, and the illustration is that of a lady who at once begets my sympathy. She is apparently making the best of a bad condition. If she is going to

use the Howard Obesity Ointment, it certainly must be worth considering. I feel sorry for her and sympathize with her in her affliction. She certainly feels about the matter just as I should, and consequently it is easy for me to imagine myself in her stead and to feel the need



WASH YOUR FAT AWAY
WITH
Howard Obesity Ointment
Simple, Harmless and Inexpensive
External Remedy

It removes fat from that part of the body to which it is applied—restoring the natural bloom of youth, leaving no wrinkles or flabbiness.

No nauseous drugs that ruin the stomach; no dieting; no change of habits whatever.

The application is simplicity itself. You merely apply the ointment to the part you wish reduced, then literally "wash the fat away" without injury to the most delicate skin.

We Guarantee Results

On receipt of request we will send you our book on obesity, which gives cases and facts of the new discovery—a cure by absorption.

All Correspondence Considered Confidential.

THE HOWARD CO.
Telephone 578 1th
Suite 40, No. 6 W. 33d St.
NEW YORK

No. 4.—She begets my sympathy.

for relief from obesity and to take the necessary steps to secure such relief.

The tragedy and the comedy are forms of literature and of dramatic representations which have always been popular. There is scarcely a tragedy without its comic parts, but frequently there are comedies without any element of the tragic. There are probably more great tragedies than comedies, but it is true that the ordinary

men and women read more comedy (including the comic in a so-called tragedy) than tragedy, and that the same holds true for their attendance upon dramatic representations.

In a comedy the rollicking fun may be introduced immediately, and the reader or the spectator may be brought into the spirit of the whole at once without danger of any shock to the sensibilities because of the suddenness of the introduction of the emotional element.

In tragedy the reader or the spectator is usually introduced gradually into the emotional tone of the whole. The hero (if it be the hero who suffers) is first introduced, and then after we feel acquainted with him and have an interest in him, we are called upon to enter into his sorrows and to feel with him.

In a political campaign the politician may relate the instances of wrong and oppression for which the opposing party is responsible, or else he may tell of the prosperity and good cheer brought about by his own party. In raising money to found a charitable institution the philanthropist may tell of the squalor and misery of the persons in the district in which the institution is to be located, or else he may tell of the joys which the institution will bring into the lives of the persons concerned. In appealing for funds to carry on the missionary work in Africa the minister may describe the deplorable and almost hopeless condition of the natives, or else he may tell of the wonderful successes of the missionaries already on the field, and appeal for funds to continue the already successful work. It certainly is questionable which method the politician, the philanthropist, the minister, etc., should follow. As far as my personal observations go, it seems to me that when sympathy for sorrow is successfully awakened, it is more effective in

bringing about the desired action than is sympathy for the joys of the persons concerned. It must be remembered, however, that the persons for whom the appeal is being made in all these cases are those for whom the hearers have more than a passing interest, and the creating of this interest may be the product of a long process of education. It may also be true that these most successful pathetic appeals would be avoided in the future by the very persons who had been moved most effectively. The depiction of the darker sides of life may be very effective, but the depiction of the rosier hues is more attractive to most people.

It is said that savages laugh more loudly than persons in civilized countries, and in general loud or boisterous expressions of pleasure are not regarded as in good taste. Culture and good breeding have decreed that we shall not express our griefs in the sight or hearing of others. In fact, it is not in good form to express grief at all. We are not allowed to parade our sorrows before the gaze of the public. It seems to be assumed that every one has sorrows enough of his own and therefore should not be called upon to share the sorrows of others. This attitude towards expressions of grief seems to be quite universal, and is taken so much as a matter of course that we feel offended when persons seek to awaken our sympathy by any form of external manifestation. Even in dramatic representations the expressions which accompany sorrow or pain are largely subordinated to apparent attempts to stifle such manifestations. We weep more readily with those who seem to have great cause for weeping, but restrain it, than for those who give way to their feelings. This attitude towards the manifestations of sorrow often causes us to be offended by manifestations of suffering. Thus in No.

5 there is an appeal made to our sympathy in such a rude manner that we feel angry toward the advertiser, if not with the publisher, for allowing us to be insulted by such an audacious attack upon our sensibilities.

One function of representations of feelings and emo-

DISEASED LUNGS

are the result of a neglected cough or cold.
It is a grave mistake to neglect any bronchial affection. You may have incipient consumption before you realize it.

The following are vital questions:

Have you caught a cold?
Have you a severe, hacking cough?
Is your throat hoarse and sore?
Do you cough up mucus?
Are you haggard and losing flesh?

These are serious conditions, which, if not promptly corrected, will affect your lungs and in a short time you will be on the road to consumption.

There is a sure cure for a cold and all the above ailments, even incipient consumption, in Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup. It is known the world over as a famous doctor's prescription that has cured thousands of cases. It is prescribed by physicians because they know it has saved many people from an early grave. Don't delay; use now before too late the celebrated

Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup

"I caught a bad cold. For about a year, and this fall especially, I was troubled very badly with it, and nothing would give me relief—coughing on pillow and midnight to do so right along. Finally a friend advised me to try a bottle of Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup. I did not have much faith in it at first, however, when I took the bottle home, I began to read, and within a short time, considering the seriousness of my case, I was entirely cured to this agreeable remedy. I shall never be without a bottle in the house hereafter as it was the means of saving my life. It is worth its weight in gold." Mrs. Theo. H. Robinson, 127 C St., South Boston, Mass.

I had a very severe attack of the Grippe which lasted the month until I learned of Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup. I purchased a bottle and already the Grippe, with all its aches and pains, has left me. It is certainly a grand remedy for Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup will cure your lung trouble. It will do it without fail. No other formula ever devised equals it in curative qualities, and for this reason you cannot afford to experiment with other remedies.

AVOID SUBSTITUTES. They are dangerous to your health. Don't let a druggist's paltry profit mixtures pay for you for sake of the larger profit he pays him. Insist on Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup with the Bull's Head on the package. This is the only remedy which will heal your lungs. At all Druggists, 50c, 50c, and \$1.00.

No. 5.—An outrage upon the reader's sensibility.

tions is to attract attention. Thus No. 6 is one of the most attractive advertisements in the current issue of our magazines. The smile is very contagious and the whole effect is so clear and so pleasing that I can scarcely turn the page without stopping to look at it.

As far as the attention value is concerned, equally

good results may be secured by representations of sorrow. Thus in No. 7 sorrow is depicted in such a way that it succeeds in attracting the attention of the most casual reader of advertisements.

Nos. 6 and 7 are reproductions of advertisements

"JUST WHAT I WANTED"

He will be delighted if you present him with
Conklin's Self-Filling Pen.
 He knows it is the highest quality, most perfect fountain pen in the world, a century ahead of the dropper filling kind; the only fountain pen that can be filled automatically or that successfully feeds copying ink.

Mrs. Grover Cleveland Says:
 Princeton, March 12th, 1901.
 Your pens would be pretty sure to have large sales here if they were once really known.

Mrs. Grover Cleveland

OUR FREE BOOKS give further convincing evidence, and fifty original suggestions for correcting common errors in handwriting.

The Conklin Pen Co., 729 Madison Ave., Toledo, O.

No. 6.—A successful appeal to sympathy for pleasure.

which represent the opposite sorts of feelings, and each awakens its appropriate kind of sympathy, and yet it is difficult to tell which advertisement has the greater attentive value. Personally, I enter into the pleasure of the smiling young man more fully than I enter into the sorrow of the grief-stricken one.

APPEALS TO CUSTOMER'S SYMPATHY 147

These examples are sufficient to show that appeals to the sympathy, either for pleasure or for pain, may be used with great profit by the advertiser. We are not cold, logical machines, but we are all human beings, with hearts in our breasts and blood in our veins, and we

I forgot

How good is memory to have one's name - I forgot!

Pelman System of Memory Training

A TEST

W. J. STRAD

D. F. VERBALEN

The Pelman School of Memory Training,
1461 Madison Avenue, CHICAGO.

No. 7.—A successful appeal to sympathy for sorrow.

enjoy the depictions of real life with all its joys and sorrows. Whether the dark or the bright side of life offers the most material for the advertiser may be questionable, but there is certainly no question as to the advisability of appeals to the sympathies.

The time is coming, and indeed has come, when the advertising pages of our publications must be filled with

carefully as the pages of the literary department. The advertising manager should not only refuse objectionable advertisers, but he should refuse all objectionable advertisements. It is quite possible that an advertisement which might be good for the individual advertiser would be injurious to the many who are occupying space in the same publication.

The advertisement reproduced in No. 5 may be good for the firm placing it. It may be attractive to such persons as need the cough syrup, but it may be so disgusting to all other persons that it renders them antagonistic and unsympathetic to all the advertisements seen for minutes after they have looked at this one. It might be a very profitable advertisement for Dr. Bull, but the advertising manager, by accepting it, has reduced the value of all other advertising spaces. The effect which would be produced on adjoining spaces by such advertisements as are shown in Nos. 1, 3, and 7 might also be questionable.

If you knew that one magazine carried advertisements which were pathetic in their illustrations and descriptions and that another magazine carried only bright and cheerful advertisements, which one would you pick up and look through? I believe that most persons would choose the magazine advertisements that present only the more cheerful aspects of life. If such is the case, it is the duty of advertising managers to see that the advertising pages of their publications are rendered attractive.

XIII

HUMAN INSTINCTS

WE are all accustomed to think of the actions of animals as instinctive, but we are inclined to object to the application to human actions of anything which would obliterate the distinctions between human and animal actions, and we do not usually speak of the actions of man as being instinctive.

No one can carefully observe the actions of animals without being impressed with both the similarities and the differences between human and animal actions. In his native and ordinary environment the animal shows a cleverness of action which is hardly to be distinguished from that of a man. In a new environment and in the presence of unfamiliar objects, on the other hand, the animal displays a stupidity which is most astounding.

The animal has but few instincts, and these few are sufficient for his ordinary environment, but in the presence of environments unusual to his species he is at a loss as to his actions. Man possesses many more instincts than the animal and in addition has reason, which can control his instinctive actions and thus obliterate their instinctive appearance, although such actions are fundamentally instinctive.

An instinct is usually defined as the faculty of acting in such a way as to produce certain ends, without foresight of the ends, and without previous education in the performance. It is in this sense that the term is used throughout this discussion.

The following quotation from Professor James will undoubtedly prove of interest :

"Now, why do the various animals do what seem to us such strange things, in the presence of such outlandish stimuli? Why does the hen, for example, submit herself to the tedium of incubating such a fearfully uninteresting set of objects as a nestful of eggs, unless she has some sort of a prophetic inkling of the results? We can only interpret the instincts of brutes by what we know of instincts in ourselves. Why do men always lie down, when they can, on soft beds rather than on hard floors? Why do they sit around the stove on a cold day? Why do they prefer saddle of mutton and champagne to hard tack and ditch water? Why does the maiden interest the youth so that everything about her seems more important and significant than anything else in the world? Nothing more can be said than that these are human ways, and that every creature likes its own ways, and takes to following them as a matter of course. Science may come and consider these ways, and find that most of them are useful. But it is not for the sake of their utility that they are followed but because at the moment of following them we feel that that is the only appropriate and natural thing to do. Not one man in a billion, when taking his dinner, ever thinks of utility. He eats because the food tastes good and makes him want more. If you ask him why he should want to eat more of what tastes like that, instead of revering you as a philosopher, he would probably laugh at you as a fool. The connection between the savory sensation and the act he performs is for him absolute and needs no proof but is unargued. It takes, in short, what Berkeley calls a mind which has by learning to carry the process of making the natural seem strange, so far as to ask for the

why of any instinctive human act. To the metaphysician alone can occur such questions as: Why do we smile, pleased, and not scowl? Why are we unable to talk to a crowd as we talk to a single friend? Why does a particular maiden turn our wits so upside-down? The common man can only say, '*Of course* we smile, *of course* our heart palpitates at the sight of the crowd, *of course* we love the maiden, that beautiful soul clad in that perfect form, so palpably and flagrantly made from all eternity to be loved!'

"And so, probably, does each animal feel about the particular things it tends to do in the presence of particular objects. To the lion it is the lioness which is made to be loved; to the bear, the she-bear. To the broody hen the notion would probably seem monstrous that there should be a creature in the world to whom a nestful of eggs was not the utterly fascinating and precious and never-to-be-too-much-sat-upon object which it is to her.

"Thus we may be sure that, however mysterious some animals' instincts may appear to us, our instincts will appear no less mysterious to them. And we may conclude that, to the animal which obeys it, every impulse and every step of every instinct shines with its own sufficient light, and seems at the moment the only eternally right and proper thing to do. It is done for its own sake exclusively."

Every instinctive action is concrete and specific, and is the response of an individual directed toward some object. There is a great diversity in the methods of classifying instincts, and any method is justifiable if it is true and if it is helpful in making clear the nature of instincts, or is of service in any way. The classification we propose is justified in that it is true to the facts,

and that it groups these actions in such a way that they may be better understood, and that the knowledge thus secured may be utilized.

As was said above, every instinctive action is directed toward some object, but the effect of the action is to bring the object into a relation which will make it helpful toward the preservation or furtherance of the interests of the individual or of the species. Thus when an animal acts according to his "hunting instinct" he acts toward his victim in such a way that he makes the victim serve his interests in providing food for himself and, perhaps, for others of his species. If instincts may be classified according as they tend toward the *preservation and furtherance of the interests of the individual*, our classification will be based upon the *interests* of the individual, which are preserved and furthered, rather than upon the manner of the preservation and furtherance.

(1) The first interest of the individual which is instinctively preserved and furthered is his *material possessions*. The individual acts instinctively toward every material thing which he may call "*my*" or "*mine*." Of all the material things to which I apply the term *my* or *mine*, there is nothing to which the term seems so applicable as to my *body*. This is so intimately mine that the distinction between it and *myself* or *me* cannot be definitely drawn. I avoid extremes of temperature, not because I think that thus I can preserve and further the development of the body, but because it is pleasant for me to act that way. I do not refuse to drink stagnant water and seek running water because I think it is best for my bodily health to do so, but because I like the taste of running water and not of stagnant water. I do not refuse grass, green fruit, and decayed vegetables and

seek beefsteak, ripe fruit, and fresh vegetables merely or principally because the former are injurious and the latter beneficial to my bodily health. I decide on what I shall eat and drink according as it pleases or displeases me in the eating. The lower animals probably never do anything for the sake of the preservation and furtherance of their bodies, but their instincts guide them so accurately that it seems to us they must do some of these things with that in view. They choose the right food, the right drink, the right companions, etc., etc., because these things seem pleasant to them.

Herbert Spencer was of the opinion that mankind could follow instinct in the choice of food, drink, rest, exercise, temperature, etc., and that under normal conditions the choice would be such as would most certainly conduce the highest preservation and development of the body. He believed that our instincts are so strong and so true that, when not perverted, they will act wisely in the presence of the appropriate stimuli, and that the bodily interests will best be furthered by passively following such instincts. He would hold that if that which is good for the body be presented in the proper light, we shall, of necessity, choose it and make the appropriate effort to secure it.

If I think anything would taste good, I cannot keep from desiring it. I do not stop to consider whether it would be good for me or not. If it tastes good, that is sufficient. Nature has provided me with an instinctive desire to eat any and every thing that tastes good, and, in general, such an instinct works wholly good. I am a reasoning creature, and it might be supposed that I would select from the different foods those which were best for my health, irrespective of their tastes. I find that my instinct is stronger than my reason in choosing

what I shall eat. In the advertisement of Karo (No. 1) is this sentence: "... it makes you eat," and also this: "... gives a relish you can't resist." I should buy Karo at once if I believed it would be so enticing that it would make me go contrary to my reason and eat it even if my better judgment told me I should not. If I had been afflicted for years with indigestion I might do otherwise, but most persons have not yet been thus afflicted, and I feel confident that food advertisements have greatly improved during recent years, for they are



No. 1.—An appeal to the instinct of bodily preservation.

emphasizing more and more the taste of the food, and are making health qualities secondary, while price is being emphasized less.

The senses (the organs of sight, sound, taste, smell, temperature, and touch) are the guardians of the body, and whatever appears good to these sentinels is instantly desired, and ordinarily such things tend to the preservation and furtherance of the welfare of the body, but we choose them simply because they appear pleasing and not for ulterior ends.

My clothes are in a special sense *mine*. We come to think of them almost as of our very bodies. How a small child will cry if his hat blows off or is taken! In our modern forms of civilization this instinct is weakened by the fact that we have so many clothes and change them so often that we hardly have time to become attached to any article of raiment before it is discarded. The close personal attachment which we have for our clothing is beautifully brought out by Professor James: "We so appropriate our clothes and identify ourselves with them that there are few of us who, if asked to choose between having a beautiful body clad in raiment perpetually shabby and having an ugly form always spotlessly attired, would not hesitate a moment."

We are all greatly attracted by the protection and ornamentation supplied by clothing. The amount of time which most women and some men spend on the subject of dress might seem absurd to a critic, but such are our human ways, and they seem good to us. Magazines devoted to fashions, shop-windows decorated with beautiful garments, advertisements of clothing—all these have an unending attraction for us. Clothing advertisements are read with avidity, and it has been discovered that all forms of clothing can be advertised with profit by means of the printed page.

The most careful observers of the actions of bees assure us that the little industrious bee gathers and stores away the honey simply because she enjoys the process, and not because she foresees the necessity for the honey which will come upon her during the wintry months. To say that the young bee has a prophetic insight of the coming winter is to attribute to it wisdom which is far above human wisdom.

Likewise the squirrel is said to collect nuts and store

them away simply because that is the very action which is in itself more delightful than any other possible action. The squirrel does not store the nuts so that he will have them to eat during the winter, but when the winter comes on and nothing better is at hand of course he will eat them. If he had not stored them he would have starved during the winter, but he did not store them in order that he might not be reduced to starvation. As far as the individual squirrel is concerned, it was purely accidental that his storing the nuts provided against starvation.

There are many species of animals which thus collect and store away articles, and in some cases—in an unusual environment—the results are very peculiar. Professor Silliman thus describes the hoardings of a wood-rat in California made in an empty stove of an unoccupied house:

"I found the outside to be composed entirely of spikes, all laid with symmetry, so as to present the points of the nails outward. In the center of this mass was the nest, composed of finely divided fibers of hemp-packing. Interlaced with the spikes were the following: About two dozen knives, forks, and spoons; all the butcher's knives, three in number; a large carving knife, fork and steel; several large plugs of tobacco; an old purse containing some silver, matches, and tobacco; nearly all the tools from the tool-closets, with several large augers, all of which must have been transported some distance, as they were originally stored in different parts of the house. The outside casing of a silver watch was discovered in one part of the pile, the glass of the same watch in another, and the works in still another."

There are very few persons who at some time in their lives have not made a collection of some sort. The little

girls who make collections of buttons become exceedingly enthusiastic in their endeavors to make large collections, and, of course, if possible, to secure the most beautiful. If all the girls of the neighborhood are making collections too, the interest is greatly heightened. It is rather remarkable how all the children of a neighborhood may become interested in collecting such things as cancelled postage-stamps. Such a thing would hardly be possible if the children did not have an instinctive desire to make collections.

Making collections and hoarding is not confined to children, but is common to all adults. Occasionally some individual becomes absorbed in the process more than others and the results seem to us to be ludicrous, but they are instructive rather than ludicrous. The following is a description of the hoardings of a miser's den which was emptied by the Boston City Board of Health:

"He gathered old newspapers, wrapping-paper, incapacitated umbrellas, canes, pieces of common wire, cast-off clothing, empty barrels, pieces of iron, old bones, battered tinware, fractured pots, and bushels of such miscellany as is to be found only at the city 'dump.' The empty barrels were filled, shelves were filled, every hole and corner was filled, and in order to make more storage-room, 'the hermit' covered his store-room with a network of ropes, and hung the ropes as full as they could hold of his curious collections. There was nothing one could think of that wasn't in that room. As a wood-sawyer, the old man had never thrown away a saw-blade or a woodbuck. The bucks were rheumatic and couldn't stand up, and the saw-blades were worn down to almost nothing in the middle. Some had been actually worn in two, but the ends were carefully saved and stored away. As a coal-heaver, the old man had

never cast off a worn-out basket, and there were dozens of the remains of the old things, patched up with canvas and rope-yarns in the store-room. There were at least two dozen old hats, fur, cloth, silk and straw, etc."

The man who could make such a collection as this is a miser, and he is despised for being such. He had too great a zeal for collecting and hoarding, and he allowed his zeal to obliterate the other possible interests of life. We all seem inclined to keep bits of useless finery and pieces of useless apparatus. The desire is often not yielded to, and the objects are thrown away because their presence becomes a nuisance. We all like to collect money, and the fact that it is useful and that others are making collections too merely tends to increase the instinctive desire to collect. The octogenarian continues to collect money with unabated zeal, although he may be childless and the chief dread of his life is that his despised relatives may secure his money when he is gone. He does not desire that which money will secure, but the obtaining and holding the money is sufficient stimulus to him, even if every acquired dollar makes his difficulties greater by adding new responsibilities. No miser is aware of the fact that he collects for the pleasure he gets out of the collecting and the keeping. He imagines that he collects these things because of their usefulness. He may think that each thing he collects will come handy in some emergency; but that is not the ground of his collecting, although it may increase the tendency, and also make it seem reasonable to himself. It might be insulting to a business man to tell him that he was laboring for money merely because of the pleasure he receives in the gathering and keeping of it. Indeed, such a statement would ordinarily be but partially true, for, although the proprietary instinct may play a part, it cer-

tainly is not a complete explanation. All persons everywhere are tempted by a possibility of gain.

Our proprietary instincts may be made use of by the advertiser in many ways. The irresponsible advertiser has been able to play upon this instinct of the public by offering something for nothing, as is so frequently done in the cheaper forms of advertising media. The remarkable thing about this is that the public should be deluded by such a pretense. The desire to gain seems to overcome the better judgment of the more ignorant public and they become the victims of all sorts of treachery. The reputable advertiser should not disregard this instinct, and might often make it possible to minister to it with great profit, both to himself and to the public, which he might thus interest in what he has to offer. The following advertisement of the American Reserve Bond Co. (No. 2) is an attempt to appeal to this instinct.

Why will a man endure hardship for days, endanger his life, and incur great expense, merely for the chance of a shot at a poor inoffensive deer? It certainly is not because of the value of the venison or of the hide. It is not uncommon for a sportsman to give away his game as soon as he has killed it. What he wanted was the pleasure of killing the game. Why will a man wade in streams from morning till night, or hold a baited hook for hours in the burning sun? It certainly is not because fish are valuable; neither does he do it because he believes that it is good for his health. While engaged in the act he is perfectly indifferent to his health, and such a thought would be incongruous to the whole situation. We like to hunt and to fish because we have inherited the hunting instinct from remote ancestors. For the civilized man such an instinct is often worthless, but to our ancestors it was necessary for the preservation of life.

The charm which a gun or a fishing tackle has for a civilized man is a most remarkable thing. The annual sale of rifles, revolvers, fishing tackle, fishing boats,

A \$10 Nest Egg Starts You Saving and Making Money

If you have a \$10.00 "nest egg" and want to see your money grow rapidly, draw large semi-annual dividends, and earn a handsome surplus, our plan will interest you.

This is a great clearing house for savings-profits.

We have taught over 200,000 people how to make savings grow and yield large dividends.

Already we have distributed over three and one half millions of dollars to the money-savers of this country!

The earning power of money is so much greater than 3% a year, that a banker who has the use of savings for that paltry sum, soon grows rich from the profits that pile up on top of the amount given you for your share.

He turns it over and over, and it grows with every turn.

—Because he has inside knowledge of its earning power, and he uses that knowledge for his own private gain.

By our plan, you get your full share of dividends, 5% guaranteed. you get all of the principal and a share of the Surplus earnings of the company.

We have assets of over three and a half millions of dollars, with the largest State Deposits of any Bond Company in the World.

Postal
Card
Brings
This
Book
FREE

More
Dollars

We are guided by the experience of over fourteen years in the handling of savings investments. Our business is under the direct control of various state laws and subject to periodical official examinations.

If you honestly want to save, we stand ready to start you on the right road to financial independence.

Write us and full information will be furnished by return mail. Drop a postal today for free book "MORE DOLLARS."

American Reserve Bond Co.,
Dept. 14 Chamber of Commerce,
La Salle and Washington Sts., Chicago.

No. 2.—A successful appeal to the hoarding instinct.

etc., is beyond anything which could be attributed to their practical need. The hunting instinct shows itself in our fiendish desire for conflict. The more ferocious the animal and the "gamier" the fish, the greater is our delight. The conflict may be with a man, and then the fiercer the struggle the better we like it. A street-

brawl never fails to attract a crowd. The prize-fighter is always accompanied by the admiring glances of the populace. The accounts of atrocious crimes are read by those who are ashamed to confess it.

The advertiser of guns, revolvers, fishing tackle, etc., meets with a ready response from the youth because he appeals directly to his powerful instincts. The following advertisement of Stevens Rifles (No. 3) is a good illustration of an appeal to the hunting instinct:



No. 3.—A successful appeal to the hunting instinct.

The constructive instinct shows itself in a well-known manner in the bee and the beaver. The same instinct is common to man, but the results are not so uniform. We all like to construct things; if they are already constructed, then we want to remodel or improve them. There is hardly a man who at least once has not been conscious of a strong desire to build a house. If he purchases one already constructed, then he is not content till he has remodeled it in some way. Indeed, if he has built it himself he may make improvements upon it annually. If it is not so that he can make more changes the home loses interest, and is likely to be abandoned. As soon as the possibility of improving a home has passed

it seems that both the host and hostess seek excuses for going north or south or traveling abroad.

In our urban civilization the men are deprived of one of the great pleasures of life. We are shut in as children, and are not allowed to "make a muss" by our attempts at construction, and in our maturity the in-



No. 4.—A successful appeal to the constructing instinct.

stinct is held in check by lack of exercise. If we had some opportunity to make things with our hands we should secure the best possible form of recreation and diversion from the anxieties of business life. The women have all sorts of fancy-work with which they may amuse themselves. Manual-training and domestic science are offering an opportunity to school-children to use their

hands and give expression to this instinctive desire to construct things.

The advertiser can appeal in many ways to this instinct, and is sure to find ready attention and a willingness to pay for the opportunity to exercise this much-neglected instinct. The preceding advertisement of Golden Fleece yarn is such that it makes a woman's fingers tingle with a desire to knit.

One of the most striking instincts in the entire animal kingdom is that of maternal love. The mother of one of the higher animals or of the human infant is willing to sacrifice all for her infant. The description which a German by the name of Schneider wrote of this instinct is clearly German, but is an excellent description of the facts:

"As soon as a wife becomes a mother her whole thought and feeling, her whole being, is altered. Until then she had only thought of her own well-being, of the satisfaction of her vanity; the whole world appeared made only for her; everything that went on about her was only noticed so far as it had personal reference to her; she asked of every one that he should appear interested in her, pay her the requisite attention, and as far as possible fulfil her wishes. Now, however, the center of the world is no longer herself, but her child. She does not think of her own hunger; she must first be sure that the child is fed. It is nothing to her that she herself is tired and needs rest, so long as she sees that the child's sleep is not disturbed; the moment it stirs she awakes, though far stronger noises fail to arouse her now. She has, in one word, transformed her entire egotism to the child, and lives only in it. Thus, at least, it is in all unspoiled, naturally bred mothers, and thus it is with all the higher animal mothers.

"She does not herself know why she is so happy, and why the look of the child and the care of it are so agreeable, any more than the young man can give an account of why he loves the maiden, and is so happy when she is near. Few mothers, in caring for their children, think of the proper purpose of maternal love for the preservation of the species. Such a thought may arise in the father's mind; seldom in that of the mother. The latter feels only that it is an everlasting delight to hold the being which she has brought forth protectingly in her arms, to dress it, to wash it, to rock it to sleep, or to still its hunger." (Condensed from James's "Psychology.")

Anything that will administer to the needs of the child is a necessity in the eyes of the mother. The matter of expense has to be considered by many mothers, but as men think lightly of expense when satisfying their hunting instincts, so the mothers look upon expense as of secondary importance when supplying the needs of their children. An article which in any way administers to the appearance or comfort of children needs but to be brought to the attention of mothers and it is sure to be desired by them with a desire which is much more than a passing fancy, for it is enforced by the maternal instinct as inherited from countless generations. Advertisers are very successful in appealing to this instinct. The advertisement of Cream of Wheat (No. 5) is but one of many advertisements which thus appeal most forcibly to all mothers.

No one chooses solitude for a long period of time. We prefer the best of companionship, but in the absence of the best we accept the best available. Robinson Crusoe took great comfort in the companionship of his man Friday. Solitary confinement is a severer form

2

of punishment than any other employed by civilized nations. We are gregarious and want to be able to see other human beings. Not only do we want to see others, but we want to be seen and noticed by them.



No. 5.—A successful attempt to appeal to the parental instinct.

Why should I care for myself as I appear in the minds of other people? It is not necessary for me to explain the origin of such a regard for the opinion of others, but it would hardly have been possible for the race to have developed without such a preference. Indeed, if an in-

dividual should become wholly oblivious to the opinion of others, it is doubtful whether he would be able to survive for any considerable period of time.

The young man seems compelled to attempt to be at his best before the young lady, but he does not know why. The young boy always tries to "show off" in the presence of young girls. It is often ridiculous that he should do so, and he does not know why he is doing it. When he comes into the presence of the young girl he seems compelled to undertake something *bizarre* which is sure to attract her attention. We are all afflicted as the young man and the boy. We consult not only our preference but also the opinion of others in purchasing our clothes and our homes, and in choosing our friends and our professions. We seem compelled to strive for those things which will make us rise in the estimation of others, and in purchasing and choosing we select those things which are approved by those whose esteem we most covet. If a particular style of clothing is preferred by the class of society whose esteem we court, that is a great argument in favor of such goods. It is possible for the advertiser of all classes of clothing to take advantage of this characteristic of human nature and to present his garments as if they were being worn by this preferred set. Indeed, at the present time, there are many classes of goods which are being presented as the preferred of the "veritable swells." When, on the contrary, an advertiser represents his goods as that preferred by a despised class of individuals, the effect produced is distinctly harmful.

The reproduced advertisement of Gage Millinery (No. 6) makes us believe that by selecting a Gage hat we should be brought, in the eyes of our acquaintances, into the class of persons here represented.



No. 6.—I feel that by buying a Gage hat I should be brought into the social class of such ladies as the one here shown.

The advertisements of Regal Shoes (No. 7) and of White Star Coffee (No. 8) make us avoid them, for we do not want to be considered as in the class with frogs and peasants. The coffee and shoes may be all right, but if, by using them, I am to be thought less of by my acquaintances, I will have none of them.



No. 7.—I refuse to admire the Regal shoe, for it will bring me into the class with this fellow.

Our limbs would be useless unless with them we inherited a desire to exercise them. We do not exercise our limbs in order that we may develop them; but, nevertheless, the chief value of such exercise may be the development of the limbs. With every organ we inherit a desire to exercise it in a way which makes for its development. The child's mind is but a potential affair. It must be exercised in order that it may develop. If the child exercised only when it realized that such exercise was necessary for the development of the body, it is

quite certain that there would never be a fully developed adult again.

Along with our bodies we have inherited a psychical nature with all its diversified possibilities. The psychical nature is, however, but little more than a possibility which needs vigorous exercise for its realization.

We have a moral nature, which, in the beginning, is in the crudest possible form, but we have an inherited liking for the consideration of moral questions. This consideration may be of the actions of the hero in a story, of the nation's leaders, of a seller of merchandise, or of



No. 8.—A poor advertisement. What would my acquaintances think of me if I preferred the same brand of coffee as that which delights the frogs?

a personal friend. Such consideration of actions of others is most beneficial in the development of the moral sense, and when moral questions are presented in a true light, they are intensely interesting to all classes of persons.

Socrates believed that all persons would prefer the right whenever they saw it, and that all evil actions were from ignorance. Such a view is evidently an exaggeration, but we certainly do prefer what we regard to be the right, and reject what we regard to be the wrong.

This is especially true in regard to the actions of others. We are disgusted and repulsed by what we regard as wrong in others. If an advertiser's argument, illustration, and condition of purchase are such that they offend the moral sense of the reader, the advertisement is of little or no value. It may be difficult to appeal especially to the moral judgment of the possible customer in presenting most goods, but any offense to such a moral judgment must be scrupulously avoided. In the advertisements of books, periodicals, and schools, the moral judgment can safely be counted on. Whether the religious nature be developed from the moral or not, it certainly is true that the two are very closely connected, and that they must both be regarded with care by the advertiser, whether they be appealed to directly by the advertisement or not. The avidity with which we seek things which appeal to our religious nature is illustrated by a circumstance related in the September, 1904, issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. A book was offered to the public with the title, "The Wonders of Nature," but the sales were disappointing. The title was changed to "The Wonders of Nature, the Architecture of God," and the sales were immediately increased and a second edition was necessary.

We have even as children an embryonic, esthetic nature. Things beautiful have a fascinating effect upon the unperverted individual. We need but to have objects of beauty brought to our attention and we desire them without being taught their desirability.

Furthermore, the beautiful affects us without our knowledge of the fact. We stop and look at a beautiful advertisement, but may not be aware that it is the beauty that attracts us at all. The best works of art are such that the attention is drawn wholly to what

is represented, and not to the manner of the representation. The advertisement which is most artistic may be one which never affects the public as being artistic at all, but it is the one which will be most effective in impressing the possible customer. One reason why so much attention is given to the advertising pages of our magazines is that they are so artistic.

We have an intellectual nature, but in the case of the child the intellect is little more than a spark which, however, is sufficient to indicate the presence of that which may be developed into a great light. The child is prompted by curiosity to examine everything that comes into its environment. It tears its toys to pieces that it may learn of their construction. At a later age the youth takes delight in the acquisition of knowledge independent of the utility of such knowledge. The curiosity of the human race is the salvation of its intellect, and at the same time makes a convenient point of attack for the advertiser. The public wants to know what is offered for sale. It wants to hear the story which the advertiser has to tell. There are other stories to hear, and the advertiser must not have the most uninteresting one if he expects to take advantage of this instinctive desire of the individual to become acquainted with all novel objects and to learn all he can concerning new aspects of familiar ones.

Occasionally this characteristic of curiosity may be made use of by the advertiser in what might seem to be an absurd manner, and yet the results be good. As an illustration, observe the reproduced advertisement of "What did the woggle bug say?" (No. 9). This advertisement seems to be extremely absurd, and yet, in some way, it has been able to arouse the curiosity of many readers, and it is quite possible that it has been a successful advertisement.

We have seen above that we have instinctive responses to act for the preservation and furtherance of (1) our bodies, clothes, homes, personal property, and family (also the hunting and constructing instincts which are more complex than others of this class); (2) ourselves as we exist in the minds of others; (3) our mental faculties. We have seen that to secure action along these lines it is not necessary to show the value of such action



No. 9.—An advertising freak designed to arouse curiosity.

or the necessity of it, but merely to present the proper stimulus, and the action is forthcoming immediately. The advertiser should study human nature to discover these hidden springs of action. He desires to produce the maximum of action along a certain line with the minimum of effort and expense to himself. If he can find a method whereby his efforts are seconded by some of the most powerful of the human instincts, his task will be simplified to the extreme. The discovery of such a method is a task for the leaders of the profession of advertising.

XIV

SUGGESTION

THE mental process known as "Suggestion" is in bad repute because, in the popular mind, it has too often been associated on the one hand with hypnotism and on the other with indelicacy and vulgarity. Hypnotism in the hands of the scientist or of the fakir is well known to be a form of suggestion. A story which does not specifically depart from that which conforms to the standards of propriety but which is so constructed that it leads the hearers to conceptions that are "off color" is said to be suggestive. In this way it has come to pass that the whole subject of suggestion has been passed by with less consideration than is due it.

There is no uniformity in the meanings that are attached to the term *suggestion* even among the most careful writers. If I were sitting in my office and considering the advisability of beginning a certain enterprise, I might say that one idea "suggested" a second and this second a third, etc. A scientific definition would not allow this use of the term but would substitute the expression "called up" for "suggested." Thus I should say that one idea "called up" the second, etc. *Suggestion must be brought about by a second person or an object.* In my musings and deliberations I should not say that one idea suggested another, but if the same idea were called forth at the instigation of a second person or upon the presentation of an object, I should then call it suggestion—if it met the second essential condition of suggestion. This second condition is that *the resulting*

conception, conclusion, or action must follow with less than the normal amount of deliberation. Suggestion is thus a relative term, and in many instances it might be difficult to say whether or not a particular act was suggestion. If the act followed a normal amount of consideration after a normal time for deliberation it would not be suggestion, while if the same act followed too abruptly or with too little consideration it might be a true case of suggestion.

Every normal individual is subject to the influence of suggestion. Every idea of which we think is all too liable to be held for truth, and every thought of an action which enters our minds is likely to result in such action. I do not think first of walking and then make up my mind to walk. The very thought of walking will inevitably lead to the act unless I stop the process by the thought of standing still. If I think of an object to the east of me my whole body sways slightly in that direction. Such action is so slight that we ordinarily do not discover it without the aid of accurate recording instruments. Almost all so-called mind-reading exhibitions are nothing but demonstrations of the fact that every thought which we think expresses itself in some outward action. Thought is dynamic in its very nature and every idea of an action tends to produce that action.

The most perfect working of suggestion is to be seen under hypnosis and in crowds. In hypnosis the subject holds every idea presented as true, and every idea suggested is acted out with no hesitation whatever. Here the mind is so narrowed by the artificial sleep that no contradictory or inhibiting idea arises, and hence no idea can seem absurd and no action seems out of place. There is no possible criticism or deliberation and so we have the extreme case of susceptibility to suggestion.

The effect of a crowd upon an individual approaches that of the hypnotizer. The individual is affected by every member of the crowd and the influence becomes so overpowering that it can hardly be resisted. If the crowd is a "lynching party" the whole atmosphere is one of revenge, and everywhere is suggested the idea of "lynch the culprit." This idea is presented on all sides. It can be read from the faces and actions of the individuals and is heard in their cries. No other idea has a chance to arise in consciousness and hence this one idea, being dynamic, leads to its natural consequences.

It was once supposed that suggestion was something abnormal and that reason was the common attribute of men. To-day we are finding that suggestion is of universal application to all persons, while reason is a process which is exceptional, even among the wisest. We reason rarely, but act under suggestion constantly.

There was a great agitation some years ago among advertisers for "reason why" copy. This agitation has had some value, but it is easily overemphasized. Occasionally customers are persuaded and convinced, but more frequently they make their purchases because the act is suggested at the psychological moment. Suggestion and persuasion are not antagonistic; both should be kept in mind. However, in advertising, suggestion should not be subordinated to persuasion but should be supplemented by it. The actual effect of modern advertising is not so much to convince as to suggest. The individual swallowed up by a crowd is not aware of the fact that he is not exercising a normal amount of deliberation. His actions appear to him to be the result of reason, although the idea, as presented, is not criticised at all and no contradictory or inhibiting idea has any possibility of arising in his mind. In the same way we

think that we are performing a deliberate act when we purchase an advertised commodity, while in fact we may never have deliberated upon the subject at all. The idea is suggested by the advertisement, and the impulsiveness of human nature enforces the suggested idea, hence the desired result follows in a way unknown to the purchaser.

Some time ago a tailor in Chicago was conducting a vigorous advertising campaign. I did not suppose that his advertising was having any influence upon me. Some months after the advertising had begun I went into the tailor's shop and ordered a suit. While in the shop I happened to fall into conversation with the proprietor and he asked me if a friend had recommended him to me. I replied that such was the case. Thereupon I tried to recall who the friend was and finally came to the conclusion that this shop had never been recommended to me at all. I had seen his advertisements for months and from them had formed an idea of the shop. Later, I forgot where I had received my information and assumed that I had received it from a friend who patronized the shop. I discovered that all I knew of the shop I had learned from advertisements and I doubt very much whether I ever read any of the advertisements further than the display type. Doubtless many other customers would have given the same reply even though, as in my case, no friend had spoken to them concerning the shop.

- 1. Ideas which have the greatest suggestive power are those presented to us by the actions of other persons.
- 2. The second most effective class is probably the ideas suggested by the words of our companions. Advertisements that are seen frequently are difficult to distinguish from their source from ideas which are secured from the

words of our friends. Advertising thus becomes a great social illusion. We attribute to our social environment that which in reality has been secured from the advertisements which we have seen so often that we forget the source of the information. Street railway advertising is especially effective at this point because the suggestion is presented so frequently that we soon forget the source of the suggestions and end by attributing it to the advice of friends.

In advertising some commodities argumentation is of more importance than suggestion, and for such things booklets and other similar forms of advertising are the most effective. Such commodities are, however, the exception and not the rule. In the most successful advertising argumentation and forms of reasoning are not disregarded, but the emphasis is put upon suggestion. Inasmuch as more of our actions are induced by suggestion than by argumentation, advertising conforms, in this particular, to the psychological situation. It puts the emphasis where the most can be accomplished and subordinates those mental processes which hold a second place in determining our actions.

As stated above, those suggestions are the most powerful which we receive from the actions and words of other persons. The successful advertiser seems to have worked upon this hypothesis in constructing many advertisements. He has also taken advantage of the fact that we soon forget the person who originally suggested the idea and become subject to illusions upon the matter. Thus, in the reproduced advertisements of Jap-a-lac (No. 1), as I see this young lady using Jap-a-lac the suggestion to do the same thing is overpowering. Many a woman who has looked at these pictures has been immediately overcome by a desire to do the same thing and has put

INTERIOR WOODWORK

gets dull and faded with time. One coat of JAP-A-LAC makes it look like new—produces a hard brilliant finish of natural wood on any desired color.

All colors are ready to use—15c. to \$2.50. Sold by paint dealers. Be sure the name JAP-A-LAC is on the can.

JAP-A-LAC

The Glidden Company, Cleveland, O.



FLOORS

You can quickly give any floor a new shine with JAP-A-LAC. Not only does it make floors shine, but it also makes them safe and easily cleaned. Does not show hand marks.

All colors are ready to use—15c. to \$2.50. Sold by paint dealers. Be sure the name JAP-A-LAC is on the can.

JAP-A-LAC

The Glidden Company, Cleveland, O.



FINISH FURNITURE

Just a coat of JAP-A-LAC and it looks like new. It is recommended for the furniture of the home. It is easy to apply. JAP-A-LAC is non-toxic, easily applied and quickly dried.

All colors are ready to use—15c. to \$2.50. Sold by paint dealers. Be sure the name JAP-A-LAC is on the can.

JAP-A-LAC

The Glidden Company, Cleveland, O.



PANTRY SHELVES

Shelves and pans are hard to wash. With JAP-A-LAC you can quickly give your pantry shelves a natural looking finish that wears like iron. The shelves are safe.

All colors are ready to use—15c. to \$2.50. Sold by paint dealers. Be sure the name JAP-A-LAC is on the can.

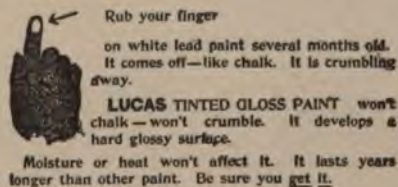
JAP-A-LAC

The Glidden Company, Cleveland, O.



No. 1.—The actions of this young lady are compelling in their suggestive power.

her desire into execution. If I had seen these and similar cards for a few months, even though I had never seen any one actually using the paint, I should assume that "every one is using Jap-a-lac." The suggestion would thereupon be in an extreme form and be liable to cause me to imitate what I assumed every one else was doing. As a matter of fact I *was* affected in just this manner. When occasion arose to purchase some paint for household use I called for Jap-a-lac under the assumption that I had seen it used frequently. The can looked familiar, and it seemed to me that I was running no risks, for Jap-a-lac had been a household commodity for years. Soon after the purchase I began to write this chapter and I am unable to recall any instance of having seen Jap-a-lac in use. I had seen pictures of the Jap-a-lac paint can and had seen pictures of persons using the paint, but I know of no other source of information concerning this paint, although at the time of the purchase of the paint my knowledge of it seemed to me perfectly



No. 2.—A suggestion to rub your finger.

adequate. Apparently I had never heard an argument in favor of the paint but had acted upon mere suggestion. Women are, in general, more susceptible to suggestion than men, and I feel sure that many women are convinced of the adequacy of this paint by these same advertisements, reproduced above, even though nothing more than the display and the picture is noticed.

It seems that no form of action can be suggested by an advertisement that does not successfully challenge the reader to do what is proposed. The suggested idea haunts one, and even though the action may be absurd, it is difficult to resist. The four following reproduced

No. 3.—A suggestion to solve this.

advertisements depend upon suggestion and are said to be extremely successful. Many persons doubtless feel the suggestion to be irresistible to rub the end of the first finger when looking at this advertisement of Lucas

No. 4.—The action suggested by this advertisement makes it effective.

Tinted Gloss Paint. What could be more absurd than Westerfeld's advertisement? The fact that this advertisement was highly successful is sufficient justification for its use. Kerr's studio was flooded with answers to the suggestion of "Guess who?" The Yucatan sign language does not affect me, but I cannot look at the beautiful girl saying "Yu". "ca". "tan" without a pro-



No. 5.—The movements of her lips literally force me to repeat the word
"Yu-ca-tan."

nounced tendency to imitate her. The suggestions in these four advertisements lead the readers to desire to act in the ways suggested, and that of necessity leads to an interest in the goods advertised.

As stated above, the words of our friends have strong suggestive power. We are not cold, logical machines, who take data in and then, by a logical process, come to a reasonable conclusion. On the contrary, we are so highly susceptible to suggestion that the words of our companions are ordinarily held for true and the actions proposed by them are hastily carried out. The suggestiveness of the words of companions is a force available to the advertiser. He places before the public a state-



No. 6.—The washerwoman seems to recommend Arrow collars.

ment and then, to give greater suggestive power, he shows the likeness of a person whose face indicates the possession of a judgment we should be willing to take. The advertiser does not state that the words are those of the person depicted, but this relationship seems to be suggested and it adds greatly to the value of the advertisement. Thus in the reproduced advertisement of Postum Food Coffee the picture of the venerable doctor becomes associated in our minds with the statement, "If coffee don't agree, use Postum Food Coffee." Later these words seem to have issued from a responsible

person and come to have undue weight with us all. Likewise in the reproduced advertisement of Arrow collars the genial washerwoman seems to assure us that "Arrow Collars don't shrink in the wash." In the case of the Calox advertisement I am convinced when this



No. 7.—The portrait doubles the suggestive power of this advertisement.

beautiful girl points her finger at me and seems to say, "Yes, you ought to use Calox." As I happen to need more tooth powder just now, I don't wait for further evidence but accept uncritically the words which she is



No. 8.—A good advertisement in which suggestion is subordinated to argumentation.

represented as using. When we stop to think of it, it is absurd to place credence in these words of the advertiser simply because of the presence of an appropriate picture, but the absurdity of the situation does not detract from the practical value of such forms of suggestion.



YOU have been entertained by a gracious hostess—a little dinner party perhaps to which you have been invited by a business friend. A gift of flowers next day will express the appreciation you feel. The girl you danced with, who was good to you in finding other partners—a gift of flowers next day is the tribute you owe.

For every occasion when some thoughtful attention on your part is hard to express in words—"Say it with Flowers," the gift acceptable.

Your local florist, within a few hours, can deliver fresh flowers in any city or town in the United States and Canada through the Florists' Telegraph Delivery Service.

The florist displaying the sign "Say it with Flowers" is a member of the Society of American Florists, which enables him to serve you better when you buy flowers.

*Whose Birthday
comes in*

MARCH						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				



No. 9.—"Say it with Flowers" is one of the cleverest suggestions in current advertising.

The reproduced advertisement of the Society of American Florists (No. 9) is one in which suggestion is used successfully. The picture tends to beget imitation. "Say it with Flowers" is one of the cleverest phrases in current advertising. The reminder of occasions demanding a gift of flowers becomes an irresistible suggestion.

Many forms of suggestion, in addition to those presented above, are available to the advertiser. There is also no necessary divorce between suggestion and the presentation of arguments. Indeed, the application of the two in the same advertisement often increases the value of each. Thus in the reproduced advertisement of Hand Sapolio (No. 8) the direct suggestion, "Hand Sapolio should be on every washstand," is strengthened by the "reasons why," and the reasons why are strengthened by this suggestion.

These reproduced advertisements are presented as mere illustrations of a few of the many ways in which suggestion may be used by the advertiser. We have but to consider the millions of persons who at least glance at advertisements, to be impressed by the possibilities opened to the man who can present his advertisement in a form that suggests powerfully the purchase or use of his commodity.

XV

THE WILL: AN ANALYSIS

• DURING all the waking hours of the day there is something about which we are *thinking*; we have a particular tone of *feeling*, and there is something for which we are *striving*. We know something, we feel somehow, and we strive for something not yet attained. Knowing, feeling, and willing are the three universal aspects of all our mental activities. As I sit in my chair I am conscious of the furniture in the room, the line of thought which I am carrying out, and the necessity of completing my task in a given time; I feel pleased with the comfort of the situation and the excitement of composition; I am putting forth activity of will in striving to accomplish a certain end and to express myself on a typewriter. Sometimes our condition is one of intense feeling, at another it is primarily intellectual grasp of a situation, and at other times it is especially a putting forth the will in attempting to accomplish some end or to reach some conclusion. Although each of the three aspects of consciousness may for a time predominate, yet it is probable that all three activities are present at all moments of our conscious existence.

• Under the will may be included all the *active* processes of the mind. This activity may express itself either in bodily movements or in some such mental processes as attention or volition. Under the bodily activities are such as impulsive, instinctive, and voluntary actions. At this time it will be well to confine our attention to but a part of these activities of the will, viz., voluntary actions.

A definition of volition would not make the subject any clearer to us, but here the term is used in an untechnical sense and includes such things as decision, choice, voluntary actions, and all actions performed after consideration. It includes a mental process and the resultant, bodily activity.

It is probably true that a majority of our actions are performed without such consideration, but it is because of the existence of voluntary action that the advertiser finds it necessary to proceed logically and to appeal to the reason of his customer.

A careful consideration of the elemental processes involved in such actions is of great advantage in enabling the advertiser to bring about the decision desired.

Voluntary actions may be analyzed into (*a*) an idea of two or more attainable ends, (*b*) an idea of the means to attain these ends, (*c*) a feeling of the value of worthiness of the different ends, (*d*) a comparison of the values of the different ends and of the difficulties of the means, and, finally, (*e*) a choosing of one of the ends and striving to attain it.

These five processes in a voluntary action may be illustrated as follows: (*a*) I think of a suit that I might buy, the trip that I might take, and of the debt that I might pay; (*b*) I think of the trouble of going to the tailor shop, the inconvenience of waiting for the train, and the distance to be covered to reach the creditor; (*c*) I feel in imagination the pleasure of possessing the new suit, the delights connected with the trip, and the satisfaction of having the debt paid; (*d*) I compare the difficulties of possessing each and the pleasures derivable from the possession; (*e*) I decide to take the trip and start for the ticket office.

If this is a correct analysis of voluntary action the

question which naturally arises in the mind of the advertiser is this: What can be done to cause the largest number of persons to decide in favor of my particular goods? Suppose that the article of merchandise under consideration be a piano: now how may the advertiser proceed in accordance with the analysis presented above?

- (a) The piano must be brought before the public in such a manner that the idea of it will be clear and distinct in the minds of the potential purchasers. (b) The public must be informed exactly what is necessary to secure the piano. (c) The piano must be presented in such a manner that its value seems great. (d) The value of the piano must be presented in such a way that, when compared with other forms of action, the purchase of the piano seems the most desirable. The means of securing the piano must be made to appear easy. (e) Pressure must be brought to bear to cause immediate decision and action on the part of the public in favor of the particular piano.

Elaborations of each of these five points will suggest themselves to any thoughtful advertiser. That the idea of the piano may be clear and distinct (a) illustrations may be used to advantage; the language used should conform to the mode of thinking of the public appealed to; the type used should be easily read; the description should be as brief as is possible for completeness of presentation of essential features. In order that the public may know exactly how to secure the piano (b) the exact cost must be presented; the method of sending the money, the delivery and setting up in the home might well be included in the statement of the advertisement. The feeling of value may be awakened for the piano (c) by advertising it in the highest class of media, by having a beautiful advertisement, by empha-

sizing the elegance of the instrument and the perfection of the tone, by indicating what a joy it is in a home, and by any other means which would tend to associate the piano with feelings of pleasure. It is assumed that other pianos will be considered by the possible purchasers and that when others are considered they will suffer by comparison (*d*). That this may be true it will be necessary to describe the strong points of the piano in such a way that the value of the piano seems great, and the cost of it and the means of securing it seem less burdensome than those connected with competing pianos. That the choice may be made at once and effort put forth to secure the piano (*e*) reasons for avoiding delay might be presented or the suggestion to action might be so strong that the tendency to procrastinate would be overcome.

Although every customer who is induced to select any particular line of goods after consideration must inevitably perform the five processes as described, and although an ideal advertisement would be so constructed that it would assist the customer in completing each of the five processes, yet it is not to be assumed that each advertisement should be constructed so that it would be well adapted to promote each of the five processes.

On the other hand, it is quite true that many advertisements are ineffective because the writer has not paid attention to these fundamental psychological processes of voluntary actions.

In the reproduced advertisement of Triscuit (No. 1) the first step of the act of volition (*a*) is emphasized. This advertisement gives the reader a clear and vivid idea of the product advertised. No one can read the advertisement without knowing what the product is made of, how it looks, how it is manufactured, and what it is good for.

The reproduced advertisement of Holbrook's Sauce (No. 2) occupied the cover page in a British magazine which is about twelve by sixteen inches in size. In all this space nothing is shown or said which gives us an idea of the real nature of the product advertised. After examining this advertisement carefully I am still at a



No. 1.—Adequate description of goods,
but inadequate as to method of secur-
ing them.

loss to know the real nature of the product. Such a use of space can be justified only on the assumption that the public is already familiar with the sauce, or that this is to be but a single link in the chain and that later or preceding advertisements supply what is deficient in this single advertisement.

Many an otherwise good advertisement is weakened because it gives no adequate idea of the means necessary

for securing the goods advertised. The advertiser is so familiar with his goods and the means of securing them that he forgets that others know nothing of them. It is needless to reproduce any particular advertisement to illustrate this point. A large proportion of goods that



No. 2.—Inadequate description of the goods and of the method of securing them.

are widely distributed are advertised on the assumption that everybody knows that they are to be secured at all dealers. It is not wise to assume any such knowledge on the part of the general public. In the advertisement of Triscuit no mention is made of the fact that it can be secured from all first-class grocers, and many persons assume that Triscuit can be had only at the address given at the foot of the advertisement. In the adver-

tisement of Holbrook's Sauce (No. 2) no address is given and nothing is said of the place where it can be secured. The writers of the advertisements have assumed that the public knows more of these goods than the facts warrant.

The reproduced advertisement of Jap-a-lac (No. 3)



No. 3.—Adequate description of the method of securing the goods.

leaves no doubt in the mind of the public as to the means of securing the paint. "For sale by paint, hardware and drug dealers. All sizes from 15c to \$2.50." This statement is sufficient for most persons, but not for all, and we find this statement in addition: "If your dealer does not keep Jap-a-lac, send us his name and 10c and we will

send free sample." This advertisement gives us a clear idea of the means necessary for securing the advertised goods and hence facilitates the second process in a voluntary action and increases the chances of securing the desired action. No advertisement should ever appear which leaves any doubt in the minds of possible customers as to where and how the goods advertised can be secured. The absence of such information is very common and impresses the writer as one of the weakest points in modern advertising.

The third process in our analysis of voluntary action is the feeling of worthiness or value (*c*). It is not sufficient to have a clear idea of an end and a definite idea of the means of securing it unless there is an accompanying feeling of value. The advertiser is thus compelled to make his commodity appear valuable. This fact is accomplished by most advertisers but not by all. The reproduced advertisement of Nabisco (No. 4) presents the product as particularly worthy. The advertisement is intrinsically beautiful. The cut and the copy harmonize completely. The young girl depicted could be described as "a fairy," and "airy lightness and exquisite composition" is characteristic of the entire cut. The copy appeals to our instinctive desires for savory viands in a most enticing manner, and also appeals to the feminine social instinct by the following words: "... to afford the hostess opportunity for many original conceptions in the serving of desserts." The greatest feeling of worth attaches itself to those things which are the objects of our most fundamental instinctive desires. A feeling of worth inevitably attaches itself to every savory viand, to every beautiful object, and to every agency which furthers our social instincts.

The fourth process in our analysis (*d*) is the com-

parison of competing ends as to value and means of acquisition. When an advertiser realizes that the public to which he is appealing will compare his goods with those of his competitor, he is tempted to resort to the questionable method of showing the weak points of his competitor's merchandise or method of sales. There



No. 4.—This advertisement arouses a feeling of appreciation.

may be instances in which this method is justifiable and even necessary, but ordinarily it is self-destructive. The act of comparison (*d*) is a process in volition that the advertiser should not seek to encourage. It is a hindrance to the advertiser and his function is to minimize it. If I, as an advertiser, am offering goods in competition with other goods, I know that my goods will be compared with the others, and it is my place to give the reader such

a clear and vivid idea of my goods (*a*) and to make the means of securing them so plain (*b*) that my goods will not suffer by comparison. My purpose is best served by holding my goods up to the attention of the potential purchaser and not by emphasizing the weaknesses of those of my competitor. I must emphasize the strong points of my merchandise and especially those points in which my goods are superior to competing goods, and in this way I get attention to those points at which my goods will gain by comparison.

The last point in the analysis of the process of volition (*e*) is that of choosing one of the ends and striving to attain it. All the other stages of the process are but subsidiary to this. What can the advertiser do to secure or to facilitate this part of the process? It is a well-known psychological fact that at the moment of final decision all competing ideas are usually banished from the mind and attention is centered on the idea (the merchandise) which is chosen. At the moment of final choice we do not hold competing lines of action before us and then choose the one that seems the best. The process is one of elimination preceding the choice. We compare different lines of action and eliminate one after another till but one is left. This one has seemed better than the others and it is held to and acted upon. The acting upon it is often a part of the choice. The one line of action is before us and the very act of attending to the one idea results in the appropriate action. There may have been no conscious choice preceding the action, but now that the action has commenced the competing ideas are kept from the mind and the action gets put into fulfillment. There are therefore two distinct things which the advertiser can do to facilitate this final step. In the first place he fills the mind of his potential

customers with thoughts of his own particular goods, and in the second place he suggests immediate action. The mind of the customer is filled by the processes described in (a), (b), and (c). Immediate action is suggested by (b) and by some such device as the return coupon, the direct command, etc. (For a fuller discussion of this point see chapters V and VI of "The Theory of Advertising.") The advertiser who fails to state the method of securing his goods fails to give one of the strongest possible suggestions to action.

If it were even possible that every reader of the advertisement of Jap-a-lac already knew the price of it and where it could be secured, still the advertisement is strengthened by giving these details in that it gives the suggestion to action as nothing else could do. The suggestion to action might be strengthened by additional details but not by substituting for them.

XVI

THE WILL: VARIETY IN ACTION

IN the preceding chapter an analysis of a typical action was given without reference to the fact that actions are not ordinarily typical. No two acts are exactly alike. Individuals are different and employ divers methods in performing their acts. In the case of a single individual the most diverse methods are employed at different times and under different circumstances. The personal differences in methods of deciding questions and resultant actions have been so beautifully expressed by Prof. William James that it seems useless to attempt any improvement upon his presentation of the five methods of deciding or choosing:

"The first method may be called the reasonable type. It is that of those cases in which the arguments for and against a given course seem gradually and almost insensibly to settle themselves in the mind and to end by leaving a clear balance in favor of one alternative, which alternative we then adopt without effort or constraint. . . . The conclusive reason for the decision in these cases usually is the discovery that we can refer the case to a *class* upon which we are accustomed to act unhesitatingly in a certain stereotyped way. . . . The moment we hit upon a conception which lets us apply some principle of action which is a fixed and stable part of our Ego, our state of doubt is at an end. Persons of authority, who have to make many decisions in the day, carry with them a set of heads of classification,

each bearing its volitional consequence, and under these they seek as far as possible to range each new emergency as it occurs. It is where the emergency belongs to a species without precedent, to which consequently no cut-and-dried maxim will apply, that we feel most at a loss, and are distressed at the indeterminateness of our task. As soon, however, as we see our way to a familiar classification, we are at ease again. . . . The concrete dilemmas do not come to us with labels gummed on their backs. We may name them by many names. The wise man is he who succeeds in finding the name which suits the needs of the particular occasion best.

• "A 'reasonable' character is one who has a store of stable and worthy ends, and who does not decide about an action till he has calmly ascertained whether it be ministerial or detrimental to any one of these. In the next two types of decision, the final fiat occurs before the evidence is all 'in.' It often happens that no paramount and authoritative reason for either course will come. Either seems good, and there is no umpire to decide which should yield its place to the other. We grow tired of long hesitation and inconclusiveness, and the hour may come when we feel that even a bad decision is better than no decision at all. Under these conditions it will often happen that some accidental circumstance, supervening at a particular moment upon our mental weariness, will upset the balance in the direction of one of the alternatives, to which we then feel ourselves committed, although an opposite accident at the same time might have produced the opposite result.

"In the *second type* our feeling is to a great extent that of letting ourselves drift with a certain indifferent acquiescence in a direction accidentally determined *from without*, with the conviction that, after all, we might as

well stand by this course as by the other, and that things are in any event sure to turn out sufficiently right.

"In the *third type* the determination seems equally accidental, but it comes from within, and not from without. It often happens, when the absence of imperative principles is perplexing and suspense distracting, that we find ourselves acting, as it were, automatically, and as if by a spontaneous discharge of our nerves, in the direction of one of the horns of the dilemma. But so exciting is this sense of motion after our intolerable pent-up state that we eagerly throw ourselves into it. 'Forward now!' we inwardly cry, 'though the heavens fall.'

"There is a *fourth form* of decision, which often ends deliberation as suddenly as the third form does. It comes when, in consequence of some outer experience or some inexplicable inward change, *we suddenly pass from the easy and careless to the sober and strenuous mood*, or possibly the other way. The whole scale of values of our motives and impulses then undergoes a change like that which a change of the observer's level produces on a view. The most sobering possible agents are objects of grief and fear. When one of these affects us, all 'light fantastic' notions lose their motive power, all solemn ones find theirs multiplied many fold. The consequence is an instant abandonment of the more trivial projects with which we had been dallying, and an instant practical acceptance of the more grim and earnest alternative which till then could not extort our mind's consent. All those 'changes of heart,' 'awakenings of conscience,' etc., which make new men of so many of us may be classed under this head. The character abruptly rises to another 'level,' and deliberation comes to an immediate end.

"In the *fifth and final type* of decision, the feeling that the evidence is all in, and that reason has balanced the books, may be either present or absent. But in either case we feel, in deciding, as if we ourselves by our own wilful act inclined the beam: in the former case by adding our living effort to the weight of the logical reason which, taken alone, seems powerless to make the act discharge; in the latter by a kind of creative contribution of something instead of a reason which does a reason's work. The slow dead heave of the will that is felt in these instances makes a class of them altogether different subjectively from all the four preceding classes. If examined closely, its chief difference from the former cases appears to be that in these cases the mind at the moment of deciding on the triumphant alternative dropped the other one wholly or nearly out of sight, whereas here both alternatives are steadily held in view, and in the very act of murdering the vanquished possibility the chooser realizes how much in that instant he is making himself lose."

These five methods of deciding are methods which we all use to a greater or less extent. Every one has probably experienced each of them at some time, yet some people habitually decide by one method and others by another. The man who habitually waits in deciding till all the reasons for and against a line of action are before him belongs to the first class. The man who "flips a copper" whenever anything is to be decided belongs to the second class. The man who is impulsive and who acts "intuitively," but who does not know why he acts so, belongs to the third class. These three classes are known to us all. There is probably no one who decides questions habitually after the manner described in Professor James' fourth and fifth classes.

Of these five methods of decision some are of little significance to the advertiser although of primal significance to the psychologist. The fifth, then, is of no significance to the advertiser except that it is the form which he seeks to obviate. He tries to get the public to dismiss all thought of competing articles. To accomplish this he makes no mention of competitors, but confines his argument to his own commodity.

In the fourth of Professor James' divisions the person, in deciding, passes from the easy and careless to the sober and strenuous mood. This accounts for the fact that certain advertisements may be seen and read frequently with no effect for years, then suddenly this same advertisement becomes all-powerful. This is true in advertising such things as life insurance, homes, good books, and other forms of merchandise which appeal to the higher nature of man. The reproduced advertisement of *Modern Eloquence* (No. 1) might not appeal powerfully to readers while they are in a careless and easy mood, but when the mood is changed the same advertisement might be most effective.

In the third type, which is mainly a form of suggestion, the decision is dependent upon a sudden spontaneity of an emotional nature and leaves but little for the advertiser to do. Women decide after this fashion more frequently than men. Here the advertiser can do most by appealing to the artistic and sentimental natures of the possible customers. The appearance of the advertisement, of the store, or of the salesman is not recognized by the woman as the deciding element, although in reality it is. If a lady were debating the question as to which goods she should order, an appeal to the artistic and sentimental might awaken her emotional nature sufficiently to cause her to decide, and

that which awakens the emotion would be likely to be chosen.

The second method of decision is not strictly a reason-

Preparing
for
Greater Opportunities

It is the only book that will give you the power to win success in any line of business or profession. It is the only book that will give you the power to win success in any line of business or profession. It is the only book that will give you the power to win success in any line of business or profession.

Modern Eloquence
or
"Guide to Success"

INSPIRATION IS CONTAGIOUS

Let us look at the life of a man who has achieved success. He has been successful in his career. He has been successful in his career. He has been successful in his career.

No. 1.—The effect of this advertisement depends upon the mood of the reader.

ing type, but is one which approaches action upon suggestion and hence anything which the advertiser can do to suggest action aids in securing the results which come under this class. This class of persons will not, at the critical moment, search through the back files of maga-

zines to find an advertisement, neither will they exert themselves to find a store not centrally located if a more convenient one is passed at the critical moment of decision. If I belong to this second of Professor James' classes, and if I am trying to decide which watch I shall



No. 2.—A poor advertisement, but one which under certain circumstances might be fairly successful.

buy, I will purchase the one which presents itself to me at the psychological moment, whether the presentation be by advertisement, salesman, or store. An extensive advertiser recently said that any kind of advertising would succeed if the advertisements were large and if they appeared frequently enough. This statement is

certainly not true but it does find some justification based on the decisions of such persons as are assigned to James' second type. The reproduced advertisement of Pears' Soap (No. 2) is so exceedingly poor that it would be defended by but few. If a man were debating which sort of soap he should purchase and if at the critical moment he should see this advertisement it might possibly induce him to order Pears'. The reproduced advertisement of Cook's Flaked Rice (No. 3) is similar to that of Pears' Soap. If these two advertisements (and others equally poor) were given extensive publicity they would undoubtedly increase the sale of the goods advertised simply because so many persons decide according to Professor James' second class and because so many unimportant questions are decided by us all according to this method. This is no justification of poor advertising, but it helps to explain why poor advertisements are sometimes successful.

Professor James' first method of decision is of the greatest significance to advertisers of all sorts of merchandise, but especially to those who offer goods of a high price and of such a nature that the same person purchases but once or a few times during his life. Among such goods would be included pianos, life insurance, automobiles, and many other advertised articles. Furthermore, the persons who frequently use this first method of deciding are so numerous that it is essential to appeal to the "reason" of the public in exploiting any kind of merchandise.

The great diversity in individuals and the numerous motives which influence the same individual, added to the apparent complete freedom of the human will, would seem, combined, to make an insuperable obstacle to reasoning with groups of people by any such means as

the printed page. Human choice has always been assumed to be unknown, to be the one indeterminable factor in the universe. In spite of all this we have come to see that human action is governed by known laws and that by carefully studying the nature of so-



No. 3.—A poor advertisement, but one which under certain circumstances might be fairly successful.

ciety and the influences at work prophecies may be made within certain limits which are sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes. Under given political, social, and industrial conditions the number and character of crimes remain constant. The suicides distribute themselves in a most remarkable manner, even as to the age, occupation, and sex of the person

and the manner of committing the crime. The number of marriages each year is more regular than the number of deaths. Famine increases the number of crimes against property and decreases the number of marriages. The wise merchant knows to a certainty from the political, social, and industrial condition of the country that there will be increased or decreased demand for individual lines of goods. Despite all the uncertainty of human choice he knows that there are certain conditions which determine the number who will choose his commodity and take the pains to secure it.

The advertiser is the diplomat of the commercial and industrial world. It is his duty to know the commodity to be exploited and the public to be reached. Even though the commodity to be sold may seem very simple, in reality it is not so. The essential thing in every object is the relations which it has and the functions which it fulfills. The presentation of these relationships and functions in a way that will cause the possible purchaser to respond is a task that is not likely to be overestimated.

The same goods may be presented in a score of different ways. The goods remain the same, but the manner of presentation meets with marked differences in the response of the public. One presentation may invite suspicion and another confidence. Suspicion is nothing but an exaggerated tendency to call up possible evil consequences, and confidence is an unusual absence of the same tendency. The text and illustration of the advertisement, the make-up, and the reputation of the medium, etc., all unite to increase or decrease this tendency to hesitate and call up possible evil consequences. The advertiser cannot be too careful in scrutinizing every-

thing that goes to make up an advertisement to see that nothing is present which would increase the tendency to recall from the past experience evil consequences which have accompanied other actions. The advertising manager of a publication should refuse not only all dishonest advertisements, but also all those which would tend to make readers suspicious, even if such suspicions were ungrounded. A publication which has been taken in the home for years, which has become trusted because of long years of reliable service, is inestimable in its value to the advertiser.

We frequently hesitate to allow time for the suggestion of possible evil consequences, but if such consequences do not suggest themselves in too great a number and with too great vividness, action may follow. Thus persons often respond to advertisements long after they first read them. They could not be induced to respond at once but at a later time they do respond, although there has been no additional ground given for such action. We are all a little suspicious of hasty actions, and the older we grow the more suspicious we become. It is frequently wise not to attempt to secure immediate response, for it requires more effort than it would if the public were given a longer time in which to allay their suspicions. Advertisers are frequently surprised by the few responses which they receive at first from their advertisements and by the great response which they secure at a later time, although the first advertisement was in every way as good as the second. There are persons who will answer an advertisement the first time they see it, but there are many others who will not do so. There are some who will answer the first advertisement but will wait a week or so to answer, others will wait till they see the second or third of the series and

then answer. The first time they saw the advertisement there was a personal desire for the goods advertised, but the fear of hasty action was enough to restrain action. At a later time such fear is diminished, and the mere fact that the advertisement had begotten a desire upon its first appearance serves to increase the desire upon the second reading of the same or a similar advertisement. Continuous consecutive advertising meets the method of response both of those suggestible creatures who act without hesitation and also of those who are too cautious to respond till after sufficient time has elapsed for all the evil consequences to present themselves.

It was pointed out above that deliberation often occurs because the presentation of one line of action suggests to our minds another similar and incompatible action. This sort of deliberate action, as also that resulting from a suggestion of evil consequences, is common in actions where large interests are at stake. In purchasing an article that costs some hundreds of dollars most persons would deliberate and consider other goods of the same class. Thus in purchasing a piano or an automobile it is to be expected that no one would be satisfied with the presentation of one make, but would consider each make in relation to others. Although this is true, yet it is the function of the advertiser to get the public to think of one particular article, and the advertiser should in general make no references to competing goods. The buyer may, indeed, think of such goods as might be purchased, instead of those presented in the advertisement, but the advertiser cannot afford to occupy space in furthering this tendency. If the advertisement can be so constructed that it holds the reader's attention to the goods advertised and does not

suggest competing goods, it has done much to shorten the period of deliberation and secure decision in favor of the goods advertised. Every slur and every remark intended to weaken the opponent's argument serves to call attention to the goods criticised and thus to divide the reader's attention and so keep the advertisement from having its due weight.

It is possible to hold two lines of action before us and, with both thus attended to, to decide for the one and against the other. Such a decision is made with conscious effort, is unpleasing and is not common. We may debate between two courses of action and hold both clearly in mind for some time, but at the moment of decision one course has usually occupied the mind completely and the other, by dropping from the attention, loses the contest, and action in favor of the object occupying the mind is commenced. What the advertiser must do, therefore, is to help the reader to get rid of the necessity of decision by effort, and he can do this by so presenting his goods that they occupy the attention completely. Under such circumstances decision becomes easy and prompt.

The parts of an advertisement may weaken instead of strengthen each other. One part of the advertisement may offer a substitute which causes us to hesitate about acting upon another part. It is possible to present two articles which seem equally desirable because too little description is given of the articles advertised. In such a case the reader is unable to make up his mind, and hesitation and procrastination follow until the initial desire for the goods has vanished. "He who hesitates is lost" is a frequent quotation, but it would be more applicable if we should change it to, "The possible customer who is caused to hesitate

is lost." A single advertisement should not present competing goods unless sufficient argument is given to make it possible for the reader to make up his mind and to act at once.

Not only must the advertiser avoid presenting suggestions of evil consequences and possible substitutes for his own commodity, but he must use the greatest skill to discover the conception which in any particular case will lead to action. In Professor James' five methods presented above, the most significant thing in the discussion is the following: "The conclusive reason for the decision in these cases usually is the discovery that we can refer the case to a class upon which we are accustomed to act unhesitatingly in a stereotyped way. The moment we hit upon a conception which allows us to apply a principle of action which is a fixed and stable part of our Ego, our state of doubt is at an end."

Recently an attempt was made to discover the conceptions which actually are effective in leading persons to answer advertisements and to purchase advertised goods. Upon this point the statements of several thousand persons were examined. The result was most interesting and instructive. Among the effective motives or conceptions the following were prominent:

1. Reliability of the goods or the firm.
2. The goods supply a present need.
3. Money considerations, *e.g.*, cheapness, investment, chance to win.
4. Labor-saving, convenient, or useful.
5. Healthful.
6. Stylish.
7. An attractive and frequently repeated advertisement.

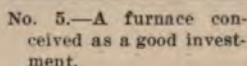
Of these seven reasons it will be observed that the second and last should not be included in the reasoning type. In the second the goods were suggested at the time they were needed and the purchase followed without further consideration. In the seventh the pur-



No. 4.—Purity as the controlling conception.

chaser was influenced by the constant suggestion which was offered by the frequently recurrent attractive advertisement.

If the right conception is presented at the right time, the desired action will follow. In the reproduced advertisement of Ivory Soap (No. 4) it is assumed that women purchase the soap and that for many of them, including such as the one shown in the cut, the



pure and reliable is the one conception above all others which will sell it.

With very many persons it was found that a good investment is the conception which leads to immediate action. Therefore if radiators are presented satisfactorily as a good investment, the question is settled at

once and the radiators are purchased. The reproduced advertisement of the American Radiator Company (No. 5), appearing in women's magazines, was evidently constructed on this principle.

Very many goods are advertised, and with great success, as being labor-saving, convenient, or useful.



No. 6.—This series of advertisements assumes the effectiveness of the conception, health.

The reproduced advertisement of Postum Cereal (No. 6) is open to severe criticism. It should be remembered, however, that there are many persons to whom the conception of health is all-powerful. For such this advertisement might be irresistible.

Clothing, diamonds, magazines, and hundreds of other

things are successfully advertised by emphasis upon the stylishness of the goods: upon the social prestige enjoyed by their possessors.

It is a wise advertiser that can select the conceptions that will fit into the principles of action of the greatest number of possible customers.

XVII

HABIT

THE term "habit" has been so frequently confined to a few questionable or bad habits that the broader significance of the term is ordinarily lost. We are all creatures of habit and have some good and some bad ones. It is an interesting study for any one to observe his own actions and thoughts and to see what he does habitually. I tried recently to make such a study of myself, but found that if I should be compelled to record all my habitual actions and thoughts it would keep a stenographer busy all day and a camera would have to be directed toward me for every move I made. I found that I got out of bed in the morning in a way peculiar to myself. I put on my clothes in a stereotyped order. I put my left shoe on first — I always do. I put my coat on by putting on my right sleeve first, and when I tried to reverse the order I found it very difficult. I picked up the morning paper and glanced over the first page; then I turned to the last page and from there looked through the paper from the last to the first page and so ended where I had begun. This is my habitual method of reading the morning paper, although I had not observed the fact till that time.

I put sugar on my breakfast food first and added cream later. The manner in which I rose from the table, put on my hat and left the house was peculiar to myself. My manner of walking was such that my

friends, seeing me in the distance, knew me. I walked down town by the same street which I had been going over for years, although there were several other streets equally good and convenient. I addressed my friends in such a manner that they recognized me even when they did not see me. I took up my work and went through it in a regular routine.

The actions as described above were not reasoned out and followed because they were the most rational. I observed my brother's actions at all these points and found that at every point his habits were different from mine. His actions were as reasonable as mine but not more so. Throughout the day I found that the great majority of my actions and thoughts were merely habitual and were performed without conscious desire or deliberation.

The fact of habit has been a matter of marvel and wonder for centuries, but an explanation of the phenomenon has been left to modern psychology. If I bend a piece of paper and crease it, the crease will remain, even if the paper is straightened out again. The paper is plastic, and plasticity means simply that the substance offers some resistance to adopting a new form, but when the new form is once impressed upon it, it retains it. Some effort is required to overcome the plasticity of the paper and to form the crease, but when the crease is once formed the plasticity of the paper preserves the crease.

There is a most intimate relation between our brains and our thoughts. Every time we think there is a slight change taking place in the delicate nerve cells which compose a large part of the brain. Every action among these cells leaves its indelible mark, or "crease," for the nerve substance is plastic. It is easy

for the paper to bend where it has been creased and it is likewise easy for action to take place in the brain where it has taken place before. That is why it is so easy to think our old habitual thoughts and why it is so hard to think new thoughts or to perform new movements. When a thought has been thought or an action performed many times, the crease becomes so well established that thinking and acting along that crease are easier than other thoughts or actions, and so these easier ones are said to have become habitual. In a very real sense the thoughts and the actions form the brain, and then when the brain is formed its plasticity is so great that it determines our future thinking and acting.

This is well shown in the case of language. It is ordinarily true that no one ever learns a language after he is twenty-five years old so well that he can speak it without an accent. As far as language is concerned a person seems to be fixed or creased by the time he is twenty-five and he can never get rid of his former habits of speech. Few men ever learn to dress well unless they have acquired the art in their youth. We all know men who have acquired wealth in middle life and who have tried to be good dressers, but in vain. They go to the best tailors, but something about them betrays their former habits. In all these things we see that we first form our brains, and then when they are once formed (creased) they determine what we shall do and be.

This relationship of the mind to the brain in the formation of habits may be illustrated by the paths in a forest. In the densest forest there are still some paths where you can walk with ease. Some person or some animal walks along in a particular direction and

breaks down some of the weeds and briars. Some one else follows, and every time that any one walks in this path it becomes easier. Here the weeds and briars are trampled on and kept out of the way. In all the other places the briars have grown up and made it almost impossible to walk through them.

Every thought we think forms a pathway through our brains and makes it easier for every other similar thought. We think along certain lines and that is the same as saying that we have formed certain pathways of thought through our brains. It is easy now to think these habitual thoughts, but to think a new thought is like beating a new path through a forest, while to think along the old lines is like following the old paths where advance is easy. A habit in the brain is like a path in a forest. We know how easy it is to take the old path and how hard it is to form a new one. We see how easy it is to think the old thoughts and to do the old things and how difficult the new ones are.

As habits play such a large part in all of our thinking and acting it is important that the advertiser should understand what habits are and how he can make the most of the situation. He should observe the working of the laws of habit in his own life. If he could realize that everything he does leaves on his brain an impression which is to be a determining factor in all his future, he would be extremely careful as to what he thinks and what he does, even in private. The success of the advertiser depends to an exceptionally great degree upon the confidence of the public. If we know that a man acts uniformly in an honest manner we have such confidence in him that we call him an honest man and we believe that he will not break his habit of honesty in the future and we are therefore willing to trust him.

Thus, whether we think of single actions as determining our future characters or whether we think of them as determining the estimation in which we shall be held by others, there are no incentives to right actions comparable with the inflexible laws of habit when these laws are fully appreciated.

The advertiser is likely to "get into a rut" in his line of thinking and consequently in his presentation of his commodity before the public. He should see to it that he does not allow his habits gradually but surely to make impossible to him new forms of expression and new lines of thinking and writing. It takes great and determined effort to overcome an old habit or to form a new one, but the advertiser should in many cases make the necessary effort; otherwise he is doomed to become an "old fogey."

The public which the advertiser addresses, is subject to the same laws of habit as the advertiser. Each of the potential customers has formed a rut in his thinking and thinks along that particular line or lines. The advertiser must know his customers. He must know their habits of thought, for it is too difficult to attempt to get them to think along new lines. He must present his commodity in such a way that the readers can understand it without being compelled to think a new thought. The advertisement should conform to their habitual modes of thought, and then the customers can read it and understand it with ease.

Habit gives regularity and persistence to our actions. Some people have formed the habit of looking at the last pages in magazines before they look at the others. Some people look more at the right page than at the left. Some glance first at the top of the page, and if that does not look interesting the page is passed by without a glance at the bottom or middle. The wise advertiser

is always alert to detect these habits and to profit by his discovery.

When game is plentiful and hunters few, any marksman may be successful in bagging game. As soon, however, as competition becomes keen only that marksman is successful who understands the habits of the game sought and who plans his method of approach according to the habits of the game. When advertising was more primitive than it is to-day and when competition was less keen, any printer or reporter might have been successful in advertising, but to-day no man can be successful who does not plan his campaign according to the habits of the public which he must reach.

The action of habit gives great value to advertising by making the effect of the advertisement to be not merely transient but permanent. If an advertisement can get persons started to purchasing a particular brand of goods it has done much more than sell the goods in the immediate present; for when people do a thing once it is easier to get them to do it again, and habits are formed by just such repetitions. In the first instance the purchaser may have been induced to act only after much hesitation, but after a few repetitions the act becomes almost automatic and requires little or no deliberation. Habitual acts are always performed without deliberation, and there is a uniformity and a certainty about them which differentiates them from other forms of actions.

One great aim of the advertiser is to induce the public to get the habit of using his particular line of goods. When the habit is once formed it acts as a great drive-wheel and makes further action easy in the same direction. It often takes extensive advertising to get the

public into the habit, and the amount of sales may not warrant the expense during the first year, but since a habit formed is a positive asset such campaigns may be profitable.

The advertiser of Pears' Soap quoted a great truth when he put this at the head of his advertisement, "How use doth breed a habit." If he could by advertising get persons to using Pears' Soap he would get them into the habit of using it, and so the advertisement would be an active agent in inducing the customers to continue to buy the soap even long years after the advertisement had ceased to appear.

Many advertisers work on the theory that as soon as they have got the public into the habit of using their goods they can stop their advertising and the sales will go right on. There is much truth in this but also a great error. It takes so much effort to form the habit that when it is once formed it should be made the most of. This can best be done by continuing the advertising, thus taking advantage of the habit by securing prompt responses and at the same time taking care to preserve the habit.

XVIII

THE HABIT OF READING ADVERTISEMENTS

As was shown in the preceding chapter, we are all creatures of habit. One of the habits which most of us have acquired is that of reading advertisements. The fact that this has become habitual gives it a permanence and regularity similar to that of our other habits. Like other habits, too, we are frequently not conscious of it. I had formed a fixed habit of putting on my right sleeve before the left one, and yet for years I did not know it—would have denied it. People have told me that they never look at the advertising pages of a magazine, when, in fact, they scarcely ever take up a magazine without “glancing” at the advertisements.

One lady told me that she was sure she never paid any attention to advertisements, and yet within an hour after making such a statement she was engaged in a conversation about articles which she knew only from statements appearing in the advertising columns of her periodicals. I observed her reading magazines and found that she seldom slighted the advertisements. Thousands of magazine readers read advertisements more than they are aware.

I asked several professional advertising men as to the number of persons who read advertisements and the time which people in general devote to them. Some of these men assured me that all persons who pick up a magazine look at the advertisements, and that they put

in as much time in reading them as they do in reading the body of the magazine. I felt convinced that the advertising men were as wide of the mark as the group first mentioned. It is not possible to find out how much other people read advertisements by observing one's self, by asking personal friends, or by asking those engaged in the business of advertising. To know whether people in general read the advertisements or not it is necessary to watch a large number of persons who are reading magazines, to keep an accurate account of the number who are reading the advertisements and of those who are reading the articles in the body of the magazine. The observation should be made on different classes of persons, in homes, clubs, libraries, on trains—wherever and under whatever conditions people are in the habit of reading publications which contain advertisements.

Some months ago I visited the reading-room of the Chicago Public Library. In this room several hundred men are constantly reading newspapers and magazines—principally magazines. At almost any hour of the day one hundred men may be found there reading magazines. There is a very large number of magazines to choose from, the chairs are comfortable and the light is good. In front of some of the chairs are tables on which the magazine may be rested. There are no conveniences for answering a mail-order advertisement at once, but that might not detract from the reading of such advertisements. Some of the men who read there have but a few minutes to stay, while others are there to spend the day. As I looked over the room to see how many were reading advertisements, it seemed to me that a large part of them were thus engaged.

To know just how many are reading at any particular

moment, the following plan of investigation was followed. I began at the first table and, unobserved by the readers, turned my attention to the first man. If he was reading from the body of the magazine, I took what data I wanted from him, jotted them down in my notebook and then turned to his neighbor and took the data from him, etc. A man was reported as reading the advertisements if he was reading them the very first moment I turned my attention to him. In every case this first observation determined the points in question. Thus, if I turned my attention to a man who was looking at the last page of the advertisements, and if the very next moment he turned to the reading matter, he was still reported as reading advertisements. On the other hand, if at my first observation he was just finishing his story in the body of the magazine and if during the next few minutes he was engaged in reading advertisements, he was still reported as not reading advertisements. By this system the same results are secured as we should get by taking a snap-shot of the room. We get the exact number who are reading advertisements at any moment of time. Where there was a single column of advertisements next to a single column of reading matter at which the subject was looking, it was sometimes impossible to tell what he was reading. In all cases of doubt the man was not counted at all. There were, however, but few such cases.

I made six visits to the library, going on different days of the week, different seasons of the year, and different hours of the day. At each visit I made observations on one hundred men who were reading magazines. Of the first hundred observed, eighty-eight were reading from the body of the magazine and twelve were reading advertisements. Of the second hundred, six were read-

ing advertisements. Of the third hundred, fifteen were reading advertisements. Of the fourth hundred, sixteen were reading advertisements. Of the fifth hundred, only five were reading advertisements. Of the sixth hundred, eleven were reading advertisements. Making a summary of the six hundred magazine readers, I found sixty-five reading advertisements and four hundred and thirty-five reading from the body of the magazine. That is to say, $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of all the men observed were reading advertisements.

At my request a gentleman made similar tests at the same library, and his final results were in remarkable harmony with those given above. Of all the men he observed, exactly ten per cent. were reading advertisements.

The fact that only ten per cent. of the men were reading advertisements at any one point of time is not at all equivalent to saying that only one-tenth of them read—or glanced at—the advertisements. A large part of them turned over the advertising pages, but they turned them hastily and did not stop to read them unless in some way they were particularly interesting. Some of the men were looking at the pictures in the advertising pages; some of them were glancing at the display and reading nothing which was not particularly prominent; others were reading the complete argument of the advertisement. As far as I could tell, most of those who were looking through the advertisements were not engaged in any serious attempt to understand the argument, and were reading in a hasty and indifferent manner. Indeed, it was the exception rather than the rule that any advertisement was read from beginning to end.

It is quite certain that the data thus far secured are not sufficient for any generalization as to the exact time

or proportion of time which the general public devotes to the advertising columns of periodicals. It is quite generally believed that women read advertisements more than men, but in all the tests referred to above, the data were secured only from men. In the second place, it is true that the regular subscribers to periodicals read them more nearly from cover to cover than readers who drop into a library to read. Magazine readers on a train frequently have but a single copy of a magazine at hand, and as trips are usually somewhat prolonged, the traveler frequently not only reads the text matter, but reads many of the advertisements completely. Another element which enters into the question, as here investigated, is found in the fact that among such abundance of periodicals the reader becomes somewhat bewildered, tries to glance through many papers and does not read so carefully as he would ordinarily do under other circumstances. Under these circumstances the data at hand cannot show more than certain general tendencies and certain specific facts as to how one class of readers is in the habit of reading the advertisements in magazines under the conditions mentioned above.

The tendency to rush through the advertising pages of magazines, which was so clearly present in the Chicago Public Library, is, I believe, a general tendency. Many people turn every page of the advertising columns of a magazine and read none of the advertisements through. It would not be fair to assume from the data on hand that the average magazine reader spends tenfold as much time on the text as he does on the advertisements, but it is quite certain that he spends a comparatively short time on the advertisements. If the readers in libraries spend anything like tenfold as much time on the text as on the advertisements, and if there is a general tendency

with most readers to rush through or glance at the advertisements, it behooves the advertiser to recognize the actual conditions and to construct his advertisements according to the habits of magazine readers.

If the presentation of his goods is to be seen but a fraction of a second, that fraction must be made to count. The cut used should be not a mere picture, but an illustration. The cut should be made to speak for

FOR THE HOME

Wilson's Outside Venetians

Can be used as a blind or an awning if
will. Can be pulled up out of sight if de-

#41404 Sun. Bronze Supporting Tapes, non-corroding and most durable. Orders should be placed NOW for Summer delivery.



J. O. WILSON CO., 5 West 20th St., New York
No. 1.—An illustration that illustrates.

No. 1.—An illustration that illustrates.

itself and to tell the story so distinctly that at a glance the gist of the advertisement is comprehended. Thus, in the advertisement of Wilson's Outside Venetians (No. 1), reproduced herewith, the illustration shows just how the ware looks and what it is good for. Even in the most hasty glance the reader is enabled to get a good idea of the appearance and use of this commodity. If he is interested in such goods at all, this knowledge will often lead him to read the entire advertisement. If he passes

the advertisement with a single glance he will still be affected by what he has seen.

The advertisement of the Venus Drawing Pencil, reproduced herewith (No. 2), has a beautiful picture,



No. 2.—This illustration tells nothing about the goods advertised.

but it tells nothing about the goods advertised. I know nothing more about Venus Drawing Pencils after seeing this picture than I did before. Many people look at this picture as they turn the pages of the magazine, and yet they never discover that it has anything to do with pencils. They remember the picture, but do not take the trouble to notice what it is supposed to advertise.

In the advertisement reproduced herewith, the type display, "Advertising Taught by Mail" (No. 3), gives

Advertising Taught by Mail

Send today for free test blank which enables us to advise you what your prospects are for success. This is the largest, most successful and most influential institution teaching the science, art and practice of advertising. Successful students everywhere earning double previous incomes who learned at home by giving spare time only for from three to six months.

CHICAGO COLLEGE OF ADVERTISING
910 Williams Building, - Chicago

Owned and conducted by 10 leading Chicago Advertising men. ♦

No. 3.—The display type gives the gist of the business.

the gist of the whole matter. Every one who glances at the advertisement understands it. If he sees nothing more than the display of type, he has seen enough to understand what it is all about and to be influenced in favor of the idea there presented. The next time he turns over the pages of a magazine containing this advertisement his attention will be attracted by this familiar display. Every time he sees this advertisement the suggestion in favor of it becomes stronger and yet the reader himself may not be conscious of such influence.

Wanted— Good Neighbors

**Who Value Good Neighbors and a Good
Neighborhood About Their Summer Homes.**

I want a man—or rather three or four men with \$3,000 to \$4,000 each, who care as much for a beautiful summer home as I do, to write me and let me tell them of a property I am holding in the most beautiful part of Michigan, for myself and for them. I am not a real estate agent. I am just what I here profess to be, a seeker for a beautiful summer home for myself, with good neighbors. It won't cost you anything to write to me and let me send you some photographs and details. And write now, please, as I do not care to advertise this again. **GEORGE MILLS ROGERS,**
100 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

No. 4.—Lacking in indicativeness.

In the advertisement reproduced herewith, the type display, "Wanted—Good Neighbors" (No. 4), does not indicate in any way that the advertisement is one of real estate. A person could glance at this advertisement a score of times, but he would know no more about it when he had seen it the last time than he did after he had seen it the first time. It has nothing to say to the casual reader, and would be weakened rather than strengthened by repetition.

The type display should not be merely to attract at-

tention, but must tell a story and tell it quickly. The display type and the picture which merely attract and do not instruct are in many cases worthless, for in attracting attention to themselves they divert the attention from the thing advertised. The picture and the meaningless headline will interest some people so much that they will stop and read the advertisement through to try to figure out what it all means. But the great majority of the readers will not stop at any particular advertisement, and unless they get something at a glance they get nothing at all. A large number of magazine readers see each advertisement, but only a few of them will stop to read it through. The advertiser must learn to make the best possible use of this casual glance of the multitude. Since many see the display and but few read the argument, an attempt should be made to construct a display that will not merely attract attention to itself, but be so constructed that it will beget interest in the goods advertised.

Few people will admit that they are greatly influenced by advertising. I have discussed the question with many persons, and I have yet to find the first one who believes that he is materially influenced by magazine advertising in the purchases which he makes. One great cause for this personal delusion is found in the habit which they have formed of glancing through the advertising pages. They turn the pages rapidly and the individual advertisement makes so little impression that it is not remembered by them as having been seen at all.

To say that the advertisement is forgotten is not equivalent to saying that it has not made a lasting impression. If I should glance at the same advertisement in different magazines for each month for a number of years, it is quite possible that these single glances would

be forgotten. I might not remember ever having seen an advertisement, and yet my familiarity with the goods advertised might seem so great that I should believe that some of my acquaintances had recommended them to me or that I had used the goods years before.

The following instance, which was also referred to in the chapter on Suggestion, illustrates this point perfectly. For years I have seen the advertisements of a certain tailor. Recently I entered his shop and ordered a suit of clothes. It so happened that the proprietor, who was conducting a vigorous advertising campaign, waited on me himself. As he took my order he asked me whether he had been recommended to me. I promptly replied that he had. I then began to try to recall who had recommended him, but found that I could not recall any such recommendation. I had seen his advertisement so often that I had forgotten the particular advertisements, but had retained the information which they had imparted. I had evidently confused the source of my information, for I fully believed that I had heard from some of my friends that this particular tailor was especially trustworthy. If he had asked me whether I had been influenced by his advertisements, or not, I might have answered that they had had nothing to do with it, although in fact they were the only source of my information about him and evidently were entirely responsible for the sale.

The oftener we see an advertisement, the fewer are the chances that we will remember where we saw it, but the greater becomes our feeling of familiarity with the goods advertised. As soon as we become familiar with the goods in this way and unmindful of the source of the familiarity, we are likely to be subject to this delusion of supposing that we have heard our friends recommend

the goods. Most people still are prejudiced against advertisements, and would not purchase the goods if they realized that their only source of information about the firm and about the goods was the advertisement; but as soon as they forget the source of the information they are perfectly willing to buy the goods, although they would repudiate the statement that they had been influenced by the advertisements. If a merchant should ask his customers whether they had been influenced largely by his advertisements or not, he would certainly receive a very discouraging report, and would be inclined to give up his advertisements as worthless, when, in fact, nothing but his advertisements had induced them to come to his store.

The habit which the public has formed of reading advertisements so hastily makes it difficult for the advertisement writer to construct his advertisements to meet the emergency of the case; it makes it difficult for the merchant to discover the direct results of his advertising campaign, and, on the other hand, it makes the right sort of advertising peculiarly effective, by making the reader more susceptible to confusion as to the source of his information.

XIX

THE DIRECT COMMAND

"SIMON says, 'Thumbs up!'" used to be a favorite game with children. In this game one person is "it." He turns his thumbs up and calls out, "Simon says, 'Thumbs up!'" At this command all must obey and turn thumbs up. The one who is "it" next calls out, "Simon says, 'Thumbs down!'" This is the signal for all to turn the thumbs down. If, however, the one who is "it" fails to say "Simon says," he must not be obeyed, and the one who does obey becomes "it" himself. "Simon says" is the *reason* for obedience, but obedience under any other condition is, in a mild way, punishable. Those of us who have played the game remember that it was impossible for us not to obey the command, even when the "Simon says" was left out. We were commanded to turn our thumbs up or down, as the case might be, and we obeyed before we thought whether the *reason* for obeying, namely, "Simon says," was given or not.

When in our early "teens," my brother and I slept in a room which was not heated. One cold winter night my brother went to bed first, succeeded in warming his side of the bed, and went to sleep. About an hour afterward, I went to bed and was appreciating the fact that the temperature of the room was below zero, when the thought struck me to play a trick on my brother. I merely said, "John, get over on the other side of the bed." He obeyed immediately and rolled over to the cold side of the bed. I began to laugh and John

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awoke. It is needless to say what happened. He knew that he had obeyed me and had done what he did not want to do, and the very thought angered him.

When a person is being hypnotized and is told that he cannot and must not open his eyes, he frequently struggles against the suggestion, but at last succumbs to it. Certain persons are so refractory that they struggle till they "awaken" themselves, unless they are well under the control of the hypnotist. All persons, in all stages of hypnosis, obey the commands of the hypnotist, or are compelled to struggle to keep from it. The natural and easy thing for them to do is to obey; the unnatural and difficult thing is to keep from obeying.

The schoolteacher commands a room full of mischievous children and they obey her, although she could not convince them with reason or compel them with force. They obey simply because they are commanded.

The demagogue uses more than flattery, threats, and bribes; he commands his followers absolutely as to what they shall do and what they shall not do. He not only says, "Smith is your friend and Jones your enemy," but he gives the command, "Vote for Smith."

When certain commands have been obeyed habitually, they attain such a power over our wills that we can scarcely keep from obeying. "There is a story," says Professor Huxley, "which is credible enough, though it may not be true, of a practical joker who, seeing a discharged veteran carrying home his dinner, suddenly called out, 'Attention!' whereupon the man instantly brought his hands down, and lost his mutton and potatoes in the gutter."

This soldier obeyed the command until obedience had become almost automatic. He obeyed immediately and without any consideration whatever.

In the game alluded to ("Simon says, 'Thumbs up!'"), in sleep, in hypnotism, and in the cases of the teacher, the demagogue, and the soldier, we have extreme cases. Here the force of the command is so overpowering that obedience is involuntary. These illustrations are useful in indicating the real nature of a command, and in showing how effective it may be when not hindered by competing thoughts. Although commands do not ordinarily secure involuntary obedience, there is a strong tendency in us all to obey them. We have probably all felt ashamed of ourselves for obeying and doing things merely because we were commanded to do so. Stubbornness is the exception and obedience the rule.

It often happens that those things which are apparently the most simple are, in fact, the most difficult to comprehend. What could be more simple than the raising of your hand or the turning of your head? If you attempt to analyze the process involved in the simplest movement you find that it is too difficult for your comprehension. We do know something of the psychology of movement, but much is yet to be found out about it. When I want to raise my hand, I do not say, "Hand, come up!" but I know of no way to express what goes on in my mind better than that. I do think of the movement and there is in the thought itself something akin to a command. When I turn my thumbs up, I think of my thumbs turning up, and the thought is the command which I give to my thumbs and which they obey. If the thought is not hindered by a competing thought,—if it is allowed to take its own course,—it will be effective in raising the thumbs.

In a direct command one person originates the thought and suggests it to another person. Thus in "Simon says, 'Thumbs up!'" I suggest the thought of "thumbs

up" to another person. The thought of "thumbs up" enters his mind—is suggested to him,—and unless he hinders the action of the thought it will be obeyed, and up will come his thumbs. One advantage of the direct command is that it suggests a thought in such a way that it will bring forth the action suggested unless hindered by a previous suggestion or by an action originated by the person himself. It is, of course, true that many actions are suggested which are not carried out, because the impelling power of the thought is not sufficiently strong. The impelling power of a thought is in direct proportion to the amount of attention which it secures; and so the impelling power of a command is also in direct proportion to the amount of attention which it receives. If a direct command could occupy the attention completely, it would be the best possible form of argumentation, because it puts the thought in such a shape that its impelling nature will secure the desired results. *The command relieves the one commanded from the trouble of making up his mind. It makes up his mind for him, and so makes action easy.*

A command is a direct suggestion, and as such has inherent value. It is the shortest and simplest form of language, and is the easiest to be understood. It bears with it authority and weight by expressing action explicitly and distinctly. It calls for immediate action and meets with ready response. Mankind as a whole is influenced more by commands than by logical processes of thought, for, as previously stated, we are suggestible rather than reasonable. The command, if not obtrusive, is of such a nature that it has its legitimate uses in advertisements and should not be discarded, as has been frequently asserted. We are not only suggestible and obedient, but we are also obstreperous,

obstinate, stubborn, and self-willed. We delight in following our own sweet wills and object to having any one dictate to us. There must, then, be certain limitations put on the use of commands. They must be used with such discretion that they do not arouse opposition; otherwise we would refuse obedience, even if it were to our best interests to obey.

Although we do obey commands, we are unwilling to admit it. We like to think of ourselves as independent beings, who act only because it is the reasonable thing to do and because we want to. It is very difficult for us to analyze our actions and to give the motives which have prompted us to do many of the things that we have done. We act from habit, imitation, insufficient reason, or because the idea of the action has been suggested. It is but rarely that the ordinary person weighs all the evidence before he acts. After he has acted, he may think over the motives which *might* have prompted him, and may even deceive himself into thinking that he acted because he had weighed the evidence, when, in fact, no such motives entered his mind at the time of action.

I have frequently suggested to persons that they should do a certain thing. At the time they have refused to do it. The idea was, however, implanted in their minds. Later they have done exactly what I had previously suggested. They had forgotten who had suggested the idea, but the idea itself was retained, so they were perfectly honest in supposing that they had originated the thought, and that they had performed the deed independently. No one would be willing to admit that he had used Pears' Soap simply because he had read the command, "Use Pears' Soap." It is, however, quite probable that many persons have used Pears' Soap for no other reason. The idea of using the soap was

suggested to them in that form. They afterward forgot where they had received the thought, and believed they had originated it themselves.

We are perfectly willing to obey as long as we are unconscious of the fact. But let any one see that he has been commanded and his attitude is changed; he becomes obstinate instead of pliant. Every wise leader of men recognizes this fact. He does not cease to command, but he covers his commands in such a way that each one thinks that he is doing just what he wants to, and that he is not following commands at all.

The correct wording of the command is a matter of importance, yet it is difficult to formulate any rules or principles to guide us here. Such an expression as "Use Pears' Soap" is not as suggestive as "Let the Gold Dust twins do your work." The first is a bald command and as such has a certain value, but the second has the added value of supplying, or implying, a reason for obedience. It is implied that the Gold Dust twins will save you labor, and so the command is supplemented by an appeal to a personal interest.

Furthermore, this latter command is worded in such a way that it is hardly recognized as a command at all, and so would not beget opposition on the part of any one. As a further proof of the importance, but difficulty, of clothing the command in the best possible form, take the "catch-lines" of four advertisements of advertising schools as they appear in the magazines, which are reproduced upon the following page.

The first, "Be an ad-writer," is short, but rather bald and indefinite. The second, "Learn to be an ad writer," suggests that I should *become* something, and implies that, by a process of learning in connection with their school, this end could be attained. The third, "Learn

to write advertisements," suggests that I should learn *to do* something, and implies that I could learn this by a course of instruction at their school. Personally, learning *to do* seems more definite than learning to *become*, but it is quite possible that it would impress

Be an Ad-Writer

Learn to be an Ad Writer

**LEARN TO WRITE
ADVERTISEMENTS**

Advertising Writing Taught

No. 1

others differently. The fourth, "Advertising writing taught," is not a command, and seems to me to be much inferior to the preceding ones. It supplies me with certain information, but does not help me to make up my mind to take the course at their school. It informs me of the fact that they teach advertising, but has nothing to say about action on my part. To have action in another person suggested is not so impressive as it is to have my own action, or action on my part, suggested. The direct personal element is lacking in the last, which is present in the first three.

As the young man reads over these four displays his attention will certainly be drawn more forcibly by the first three than by the last one. It might be question-

able, however, which one of the first three would appeal most to him. "Learn to write advertisements" appeals to me most strongly, and would probably appeal to more persons than any of the others.

The value of the form of expression in the headlines is clearly seen when we read over the commands which were used as display in *American Magazine* for April, 1920. Some are good and some are poor, as will be recognized by every one who reads the list. Taking them in the order in which they appeared, they are the following:

- "Learn to talk convincingly."
- "Let me tell you."
- "Send no money."
- "Look for the red-and-white label."
- "Remember these three."
- "Take a tip from Robert Burns."
- "Your signature represents you. Do it in Carter's."
- "Visit your Dayton dealer."
- "Mail this coupon to-day."
- "Save the surface and you save all."
- "Use Kyanize."
- "Be financially independent."
- "Use this chest free."
- "Learn languages by listening."
- "Let sound investments guard your home."
- "Let your mirror tell."
- "Start the season right."
- "Make money writing."
- "Copy this sketch."
- "Send for these good books."
- "Don't rub it in."
- "Go to a legitimate dealer."
- "Keep the toilet spotless."

"Plan for good roads now."

"Have cozy rooms for \$17 a day."

"Let me send you free proof."

"Follow the arrow."

"Be well."

"Become a lawyer."

"Learn how to write short stories."

"Learn law."

"Be a banker."

"Enter a business."

"Be a master of traffic manager."

"Ride a bicycle to work."

"Learn piano-tuning."

"Avoid embarrassment."

"Buy it by name."

"Save on your new home."

"Don't grope for words."

"Dye old dress material."

"Speak a foreign language."

"Cultivate your beauty."

"Become a nurse."

"Don't say 'Underwear'—say 'Munsingwear.'"

As we see from the examples given above, the value of a command is dependent upon the way in which it is expressed.

Another factor of even greater importance than the verbal expression is the personality of the one giving the command. The spoken command is enforced by the personality of the speaker to an extent impossible in written commands. The difference is, however, not so great as might be supposed. Van Dyke expressed a truth when he said, "Help me to deal very honestly with words and people, for they are both alive." The person who can move men by spoken words can move them by

written words. This is so true that many have prophesied that the press would render the preacher and the orator useless. The printed page is a living force which is more appreciated to-day than ever before. There are men who are obeyed whether they speak or write, whether they are at the head of a regiment or in the privacy of their own homes, whether they are addressing their employees in person or presenting certain lines of action to the public by means of printed advertisements. Certain persons can command us and we obey readily, but if the same commands were given by other persons, we should regard it as presumptuous and refuse obedience. A firm that is just beginning its first advertising campaign does not secure as much attention to its advertisements as the older firms. Furthermore, reliable firms which are well established and well known through advertising could give commands with impunity which would injure a new or unknown firm.

Persons who are used to obeying take obedience as a matter of course and obey almost from second nature or instinct. Those who are not used to being commanded are more inclined to resent the attempt and so refuse to obey, even if the command is in accord with their interests, and if they had at first been at the very point of obeying. A form of expression which would prove highly successful with one class of society might fail with another class. Commands would have a greater efficiency in cheap than in higher-priced periodicals, because the poorer classes are more in the habit of obeying commands. They are more in the habit of doing things that are directly suggested to them. All classes of society are moved by a direct command if it is properly worded, and if it appears in their favorite or most highly appreciated publication.

The function of the direct command in advertisements is twofold—to *attract attention* and to *beget immediate action*.

There is nothing which attracts the attention so much as movement or action. When we want to attract the attention of a friend, we wave to him instinctively. We know that he will see the wave of the hand or of the handkerchief when he would not notice us at all apart from such movements. Our eyes are so constructed that we can distinguish a movement of an object before we are able to distinguish the object itself. Movements please and attract us in whatever form they may be presented. A shop window that has in it a live animal or anything else that moves will attract the attention of the pedestrian as he passes by. A command ordinarily calls for action. As we read a command we think of the action suggested and it attracts our attention in much the same way that actual movements do. In the first case we see with the imagination what we see in the second case with the sense of sight.

A command in good display type at the beginning of an advertisement may express in a few words the intent of the entire advertisement. It expresses it in such a living, moving manner that it attracts our attention and makes us feel in sympathy with it, so that we feel like doing what is suggested at once. This tendency to action on our part brings us into sympathetic, personal relation with the advertisement, and so gets us interested enough in the advertisement to start us to reading it. The argument should be so constructed that it brings us into closer relationship with the proposition offered. It should take us into the confidence of the firm and make us feel that the firm back of the advertisement can be trusted. We then feel in sym-

pathy with the offer made by the firm, our self-will is suspended, and we are in a condition to do what is suggested. The argument may have been extensive, the illustrations may have been interesting and suggestive, but now what is wanted is immediate action. The advertisement should focus at this point. An attempt should be made to hold our attention to what is desired of us. The value of a direct command at this point should not be overlooked, as it expresses in a few words and in living form all that the advertisement has desired to bring about. It sums up the entire argument and puts it before us in the form of a direct suggestion to action.

Outdoor advertising must of necessity be very brief and very suggestive. There is no opportunity to present extensive arguments, yet something must be done to attract attention and to beget immediate action. Direct affirmation as to the value of the goods offered may, in general, be the most effective form of expression, but the direct command could be used with profit because of its superior value in attracting attention and in begetting immediate action.

The above chapter on "The Direct Command" as a form of argumentation appeared in substantially the present form in *Mahin's Magazine*. Soon after its publication the Editor received a letter from the Franklin Mills Company, saying that they were going "to try out the theory" in their advertising. Some time later the following letter was received, stating the results of their experiment with the advertisement reproduced herewith (No. 2):

We wish to say that our February advertisement, embodying "the direct command" advised by Professor Scott, is bringing far greater returns than any advertisement we have ever before published, and this is surprising in the face of the fact that the public are overloaded with free samples of hundreds of

Sit Right Down and write for a Sample of WHEATLET

It will cost you but three two cent stamps and your grocer's name to receive full half pound sample of

WHEATLET

and know why it is the very best cereal food you can possibly eat.

ELBERT HUBBARD, Editor of *The Philistine*, says:—

"You will see this issue is a 'hot' number, all being written on a Wheatlet diet. In fact, I have never been so dinned clever in my literary work as since I tackled Wheatlet."

(Tell us the uncolored word in January's Ad. Early Breakfast Picture in its colors. 10000 to first fifty corrections.)

Before you forget it, write for sample to

The Franklin Mills Co.,

"All the Wheat that's Fit to Eat."

909 Springarden St., LOCKPORT, N. Y.

No. 2

cereals, and are so confused thereby that they hardly know what they want.

Another instance of the successful application of this principle appeared in a recent issue of *Printers' Ink*. It is entitled, "A Story of Progress," and gives the history of the wonderful growth of the *Delineator*:

Then advertising was used in dailies and magazines throughout the country. Billboards were also utilized for a brief

period, chiefly to spread the well-known catch-phrase, "Just get the *Delineator*." This phrase originated with Mr. Thayer, who, in speaking about it, said:

"I had tried more than a year to hit upon a suitable phrase, but nothing would come to me. One day I read an article by Professor Scott in *Mahin's Magazine*, in which he showed that if the words 'Cut this coupon out and mail it to-day' were used instead of 'Use this coupon' there would be a larger number of replies. It is his theory that people will follow a definite direction of this sort, and the theory appealed to me. So I formulated my phrase in the belief that its suggestion would be followed, especially by women. Results have proved that it is an effective phrase. To my own personal knowledge the catch-line has tantalized even men until they bought copies to see the publication for themselves."

XX

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL VALUE OF THE
RETURN COUPON

THE return coupon, which is the product of a long evolution in which necessity and practical experience were the prime moving factors, has of recent years been greatly improved by those who have been able to analyze it and to appreciate its possibilities. Before the days of the coupon, the advertiser met with great difficulty in trying to keep tab on the various publications in which he advertised. The "Please mention this magazine" was frequently disregarded, and so the idea was conceived of having something returned to the advertiser which would indicate the publication in which the reader had seen the advertisement. At first it was the whole advertisement which was to be returned, and we find at the end of some of the old advertisements this statement, "Please cut this advertisement out," etc. Then it was conceived that it was not necessary to return the entire advertisement, but merely a blank for the name and address, and so the coupon was evolved.

The return coupon was, then, in the beginning a keying device and was not intended to have any value as a means of securing replies. It was not to induce the reader to answer the advertisement, but was intended as an assistance to the advertiser in keeping tab on the various publications in which he advertised. Later it was discovered that the coupon had a greater value than had been supposed--that it was in itself a strong induce-

ment to action and that its value was therefore psychological. The coupon appeals directly to the reader and induces more to answer the advertisement than would do so if the coupon were not there.

One psychological value of the return coupon is that

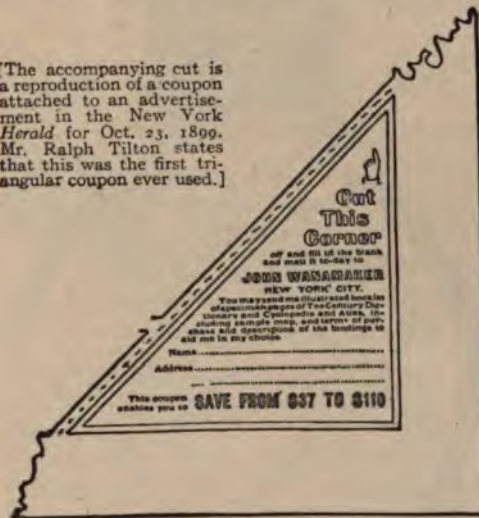


No. 1

it attracts attention. In their original form these coupons (No. 1) were something different from anything that had previously appeared in advertisements, and attracted attention by way of contrast to ordinary advertisements. They also attracted attention because the ruled blank lines and open spaces were in contrast with the rest of the advertisement. The coupon is so familiar now that it does not offer so strong a contrast to other advertisements as formerly, but is still in contrast to the rest of the advertisement in which it is con-

tained. To make this latter contrast stronger, the whole advertisement, as well as the coupon itself, has been greatly modified. The chief alteration was in the coupon, which was changed from the square or oblong to the triangle (No. 2). All the lines of reading matter are horizontal, but the little three-cornered coupon has one or more oblique lines, and the oblique lines run in a

[The accompanying cut is a reproduction of a coupon attached to an advertisement in the New York Herald for Oct. 23, 1899. Mr. Ralph Tilton states that this was the first triangular coupon ever used.]



No. 2

different direction. This brings it into contrast with the rest of the advertisement.

I asked a large group of persons to think of some number. Very many more of them thought of three than of any other number. - I have asked other groups to think of some geometrical figure, and more think of a triangle than of any other figure. I have exposed, for a very short interval of time, various geometrical figures, and the triangle catches their attention more than any other figure. The number three and a figure with three

sides possess a peculiar interest for us. It seems, then, that the triangle is more attractive than a square, and oblong, or parallel lines, and so it attracts our attention to itself and indirectly to the advertisement in



**When
Forty Thousand
People**

make up their minds to buy something, their purchasing power is tremendous—*if united!*

The Wanamaker Century Club has united some 40,000 members who wanted The Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia and Atlas. That is the simple story of how the half price came to be.

Since we first opened The Wanamaker Century Club the acts purchased represent

a saving of over two million dollars

to our club members!

The Century contains what you would hope to find in the one best cyclopaedia of Facts, the most complete of dictionaries of our language; the most thorough and usable of World Atlases, and takes the place of many separate works such as cyclopaedias of Commerce, Banking, Engineering, Art, Architecture and a score of other subjects. It is a complete *Working Library in itself*.

This latest revised edition is controlled by us, is unaltered, and is the **ONLY AUTHORIZED EDITION now published by the Century Company.**

You can secure a set at one-half the regular price by joining The Wanamaker Century Club. Joining costs one dollar. Then the books are sent you and you can pay all at once, or a little at a time, as you prefer. We will send full particulars on receipt of the coupon in the corner.

John Wanamaker
New York.

Corner of 11th and Chestnut Streets
New York

Please send without cost to me illustrated booklet about The Century Dictionary & Cyclopaedia & Atlas, and complete details of the half price offer, etc., etc.

Name _____
Address _____

These members Drayton's Maples claim not only in education.

No. 3

which it is contained. The shape of the entire advertisement and particularly the shape of the border has been changed to make the contrast with the three-cornered coupon greater. By certain leading advertisers the border has been constructed of figured designs composed of broken curved lines, or of continuous curved

lines, or else the border has been discarded entirely (No. 3). These changes make the bold, straight lines of the coupon stand out in marked contrast, and are almost sure to attract the attention as one turns over the page.

The contrast between the coupon and the rest of the advertisement (not to mention the contrast with other advertisements) is not the only source of attention value of the coupon. A second attractive feature is found in

One dollar is all!

A single Dollar (if you act at once) is all it will cost you to secure possession of RIDPATH'S History of the World. A great big set of 9 Royal Octavo volumes with 4000 illustrations, and many maps and color plates. The rest you pay in monthly payments of \$2 each.

Your Last Chance!

If you'd like to own the best World's History in existence,—a history that's as interesting as a story-book and almost as reliable as a *text-book* of geography,—send for the free prospectus and specimen page book to-day, using the coupon in the corner.

We've a pamphlet, prepared by the publishers of the History, which tells just what the work is, how it came to be written, and the sort of readers it aims to entertain and interest. This pamphlet also contains specimens of the illustrations and text pages, and if you're interested, and mail us the coupon, we'll send it to you free of cost.

Reading that pamphlet will settle in your mind, once for all, whether you need the history or not, and you'd best write to J. W. W. for this is our last advertisement of Ridpath's History at half price.

John Wanamaker
PHILADELPHIA NEW YORK

Please mention McClellan's when you write to Philadelphia.

CUT ALONG THIS LINE

Name _____
Address _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
COUPON No. 4

No. 4

the direct command ordinarily placed between the body of the advertisement and the coupon. The expressions "Cut this corner off," "Cut along this line," etc., have a decided value in attracting attention. (See chapter on "The Direct Command as a Form of Argumentation.")

Another source of attention value in this kind of advertising is in the dotted line indicating the place at which the coupon should be cut off. This dotted line

suggests action, and as such is interesting and attracts the attention. If the dotted lines could give the impression of perforated paper, the results would be better. Where possible it would be well to have the paper perforated along the line where the coupon is to be torn off.

4 | Another source of attention value in this kind of advertising in its modified form is found in the devices employed (No. 4) to direct the attention to the dotted line or to the "Cut this corner off." The index fingers, all pointing to the same thing, give one the impression that there must be something very special at that point, and many persons look to see what the fingers are pointing at, when otherwise they would pass the entire advertisement by without noticing it.

2 | In addition to its power in attracting attention, the return coupon has a further psychological value in that *it gives the reader something definite and specific to do.*

I have frequently observed in teaching that if pupils or students are given definite and specific tasks to perform, they perform them with alacrity. If, however, the tasks are made general and assigned as something which they might do sometime, no impression is made on their minds and nothing is done. A necessary characteristic of a teacher is the ability to make his students know just what he wants them to do. A prime requisite of an advertisement, when direct evidence of attention is desired, is that it should give the reader something definite and specific to do at once, *i.e.*, that the reader should open a correspondence with the firm. With our present knowledge there could probably be no better way of making that end clear than by the use of the return coupon. Its function is much like that of a sun-glass. The rays of the sun falling on a piece of paper will warm it, but will

not cause it to burn. If the rays are allowed to shine through the sun-glass and to focus at one point of the paper, the whole will soon be ignited. The argument in an advertisement may be good, it may even make the reader "warm" with the desire to secure the goods, but his desire may not result in action. The heat was not focused at one point. The return coupon concentrates all this desire or "warmth" at one point; it overcomes procrastination and secures the necessary action.

An additional psychological value of the return coupon is that *it makes it easy to answer the advertisement.*

There are persons who will climb the Matterhorn because of the difficulty of the ascent. There are those who will spend hours and even days trying to solve difficult puzzles. These are but apparent exceptions to the universal rule that mankind as a class prefers the line of least resistance. We desire the best results, but we want to secure them with the least possible labor. We refuse to take two steps when one is sufficient. Business men recognize this fact and place their merchandise where it can easily be secured by the buyer. They choose a site for their stores where they will be the most accessible. They arrange their goods so that they may be most easily seen and secured by the public. They send out their representatives to display the goods and leave nothing to the purchaser but to indicate what he wants. In short, everything possible is done to make it easy for the customers. The traveling salesman made it so easy for the customer that he undoubtedly gave orders for goods which he would not have purchased if he had been obliged to go after them or even to write a letter for them. For a mail-order house, the return coupon supplements or takes the place of a traveling

salesman. It presents itself to the possible customer, and all he has to do is to fill it out and return it, and the goods are forthcoming. Even for the experienced business man it is easier to fill out a blank than it is to dictate or write a letter. But all are not experienced business men. There are those who make good customers, but whose only formula for letter writing is, "I take my pen in hand to let you know that I am well and hope that this will find you the same." For such a person to compose a business letter is a task of no small importance. He does not know whether to begin with "Dear Sir" or with "Gentlemen"; he does not know whether he should close with "Yours truly" or "Affectionately yours." The betrayal of his ignorance and the effort of composition are hindrances of such magnitude that he is frequently deterred from securing the desired goods. To be relieved from this embarrassment and toil is for him a veritable boon. The return coupon makes answering easier for all, whether with or without experience in writing business letters. It makes answering easy not only because it has the return letter already composed, but also because the composed letter is easily accessible. Some advertisers do not seem to appreciate this latter advantage and so allow the coupon to be placed near the middle of the page and on the inside of it—next to the binding. The following reduced reproduction is an example of such a blunder (No. 5). This makes it unnecessarily difficult to get at, and so places an obstacle in the way of every one who desires to answer. Many would surmount the difficulty, but some would not. It certainly is bad business policy to put such a needless obstruction in the path of every "would-be customer." The three-cornered coupon can be cut or torn off more easily than any other. If placed on one of the four outer

corners of a publication it can be severed with a single cut of the scissors or torn off with a single tear. It is more accessible than it would be if in any other shape; it makes the answering of the advertisement easy, and to that extent is the best possible shape for a return coupon.



No. 5

The task recently devolved on me of purchasing a baby carriage. I had never been interested in them before and did not know where I had ever seen them in stores, and so did not know where I should go to secure one. I turned at once to the advertisements in the morning paper and saw baby carriages advertised at a certain down-town store. I went there at once and asked the floor-walker where they kept them, and he politely informed me that they did not handle them. I assured him that I had seen their advertisement in the paper that morning and that they must therefore have them. He made further inquiries and found that they did have them, and I secured my desired article. Having seen the advertisement in the paper, it was easy for me to find what I wanted. All advertisements make it easy for the purchaser to know where the class of goods is kept which he desires to secure. It will readily be seen that one of the great functions of any advertisement is in this

way to make it easy for the purchaser to find what he wants. The coupon has the additional value of being of such a nature that the purchaser can secure the goods desired without going out after them and even without the trouble of composing and writing a letter. Some of us are not so lazy as others, but we are all procrastinators. We often decide that we want a thing, but we put off the purchase till the desire has gone and so we never secure what we wanted. Procrastination is so easy that we put off till to-morrow what would cause us trouble to do to-day. With the coupon, the task of ordering the goods is so easy that there is almost no excuse for procrastination, even if we are somewhat lazy. An advertisement should make it as easy as possible for the purchaser to secure the goods he desires and should take away every possible ground for hesitation. In these particulars the coupon is especially strong.

We have now seen that the coupon attracts attention because of its novelty or contrast, because of its triangular shape, because of the direct command and the index finger which frequently accompanies the return coupon. We have seen that it is psychologically strong because it is specific and direct in its appeal. We have also seen its strength in that it makes answering the advertisement easy and calls for immediate action. All these advantages are but supplementary and subsidiary to the great function of the return coupon. Its real value is to be found in the fact that *it suggests to the reader that he should sign his name, tear out the coupon and send it to the address given.* The prime value of the coupon is lost unless this is attained. The coupon does attract attention, but that is of value merely because in attracting attention it brings the suggestion to the mind of the reader and keeps it there. It is specific

and direct, but that is of value only because it holds before the mind the one specific suggestion which is desired. It makes action easy and that is good, because

Check the edition of Price List you wish sent (will send both if desired), also articles which you handle or use, so that we can send samples and special information from time to time.

☐ **Hardware Dealers' Edition**

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Steel Roofing | <input type="checkbox"/> Conductor Pipe, Gutters, Etc. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Steel Ceilings | <input type="checkbox"/> Roofing and Metal Paints |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tin Plaster | <input type="checkbox"/> Asbestos Paper, Mill Board, Etc. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Galvanized, Smoked and Platinized Iron | <input type="checkbox"/> Asbestos Pipe Covering, Casings, Etc. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ridge Boli and Cresting | <input type="checkbox"/> Mineral Wool |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Skylights and Cornices | <input type="checkbox"/> Furnace Pipe and Bagging |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sheet Zinc and Copper | <input type="checkbox"/> Tinney Tools |

☐ **Lumber Dealers' Edition**

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Building Paper | <input type="checkbox"/> Two and Three Ply Roofing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Linoleum Roofing | <input type="checkbox"/> Asphalt Roofing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Portable Gourd Roofing | <input type="checkbox"/> Roof Coatings |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asbestos Fire-Proof Roofing | <input type="checkbox"/> Deadening Felts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Waterproof Papers | <input type="checkbox"/> Carpet Linings |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tanned Felts | <input type="checkbox"/> Asphalt Metal Paints |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pitch and Coal Tar | <input type="checkbox"/> Roofing and Paving Asphalts |

Name _____

Town _____ State _____

☐ Check here if not interested in the above lines of goods and we will remove your name from our mailing list.

STAMPED ENVELOPE ENCLOSED FOR RETURN OF THIS FORM.

No. 6

then no barrier is placed in the way of the suggestion. It calls for immediate action and that is essential, because unless the suggestion is acted upon at once it grows weaker and would fail of its purpose.

In connection with direct commands and return cou-

pons there should be some mention made of other similar devices for suggesting action. Among these latter are the return postal card, the money envelope, the money card, etc. There seems to be no end to the number of such devices that skill and ingenuity may discover. They are used with great profit by their inventors, but when the novelty has worn off, they are less valuable, and other forms are then demanded.

This chapter in substantially its present form appeared first in a magazine article. One of the readers of the magazine decided to make an experiment in applying the principle to his own business. He noticed this sentence, "They are used with great profit by their inventors, but when the novelty has worn off, they are less valuable, and other forms are then demanded." He tried to preserve the psychological value of the return coupon, but to present it in a new form and in such a way that it would be adapted to his demands. The result of his labor is seen in No. 6.

After the form had been in use a short time we received the following letter from the inventor of it:

CHICAGO, April 2, 1903.

DR. WALTER DILL SCOTT,
Northwestern University,
Evanston, Ill.:

Dear Sir,—I am sending you under separate cover copy of the "Ballot" advertisement, which we got out recently along the lines suggested by your articles in *Mahin's Magazine*, and are pleased to report that the returns are very satisfactory. Over 50 per cent. of the sheets were returned, making a very valuable mailing list, but we do not consider this as important as the psychological value of having the retail dealers make a special request for our monthly price list.

As a test case, we mailed thirty of these sheets to dealers to whom we had been sending our catalogues and other advertising material regularly for a number of years, but had never received any returns. Of these seventeen were returned, three containing special requests for prices, one of which resulted in an immediate order.

I find the knowledge of the psychological principles of advertising very helpful in planning my advertising work, and will be pleased to give you any further data in regard to the results obtained that you may wish.

Yours truly,

J. C. WOODLEY.

At the time this chapter was prepared for publication in magazine form (May, 1902) there were but few return coupons appearing in the current magazines, and those appearing were placed with but little regard to position. Thus in *Munsey's Magazine* for May, 1902, there were but three return coupons, and one of them was so placed that it came next to the binding and would be hard to detach. In *McClure's* for the same month there appeared four return coupons and one of them was next to the binding. In the *Century Magazine* for the same month there appeared but a single return coupon. Since that date the number of return coupons has increased enormously. Very often a hundred return coupons appear in a single issue.

XXI

ATTENTION

WHAT does the advertiser seek to accomplish by his advertisements? The answers to this question differ merely as to form of expression or point of view. One says, "The aim of advertising is to attract attention and to sell goods." Another statement would be that the purpose of advertising is to attract attention to the goods and to create such a favorable impression for them that the reader will desire to possess them. Whatever the statement may be, this seems certain—one aim of every advertisement is to attract attention. Therefore, the entire problem of attention is one of importance to the advertiser, and an understanding of it is necessary for its wisest application as well as for a correct understanding of advertising.

When we turn to the question of attention, the first thing that impresses us is that our attention is narrow, that we are unable to attend to many things at once. Out of all the multitude of things competing for place in our attention, the great majority is entirely disregarded. At the present time you are receiving impressions of pressure from your chair and from your clothing, impressions of smell from flowers and from smoke, impressions of sound from passing vehicles and from your own breathing, impressions of sight from your hand that holds this book and from the table on which the book rests. As I mention them they are noticed one after the other. Before I mentioned them you were

totally oblivious of them. You cannot say how many distinct things you can attend to at once. This was formerly a question of frequent debate. Some asserted that we could attend to but one thing at a time, but others, with equal vehemence, insisted that a score of things could be attended to at once. The question has been removed from the realm of mere probability, for it has been investigated according to scientific methods in the psychological laboratories, and definite results have been obtained. Ordinary observers under favorable conditions can attend to about four visual objects at once. "Object" here is used to indicate anything that may be regarded as a single thing. About four letters, four simple pictures, four geometrical figures or easy words are as much as we can see or attend to at once.

As you look at this page the light is reflected to your eyes from each individual word, so one might say that you receive an impression from each of the words on the page, but if you look at the page closely you will find that you can attend to but about four words at once.

If, then, there are multitudes of things to be attended to and we are unable to attend to more than four at once, why do we attend to certain things and disregard all the rest? What characteristics must anything have that it may force itself into our attention? Since advertisements are part of the things which may or may not be attended to, we may be more specific and put the question in this form: What must be the characteristics of an advertisement to force it into the attention of the possible customer?

If I am interested in guns, take up a magazine, look for the advertisements of guns and read them through, my attention is voluntary. If, while looking for guns,

something else catches my eye for a moment and I think "that is an advertisement for clothing," then my attention is involuntary. In the first case I sought out the advertisement with a conscious purpose. In the second there was no such conscious purpose, but the advertisement thrust itself upon my attention.

Psychology is the newest of the experimental sciences and the investigations of involuntary attention are as yet far from satisfactory. The complete analysis of it as applied to advertising has to my knowledge never been made. With its complete analysis the following six principles will appear:

① The first principle is that *the power of any object to force itself into our attention depends on the absence of counter attractions.*

Other things being equal, the probabilities that any particular thing will catch our attention are in proportion to the absence of competing attractions. This may be demonstrated in a specific case as follows: I had a card of convenient size and on it were four letters. This card was exposed to view for one twenty-fifth of a second, and in that time all the four letters were read by the observers. I then added four other letters and exposed the card one twenty-fifth of a second as before. The observers could read but four letters as in the previous trial, but in this exposure there was no certainty that any particular letter would be read. I then added four more letters to the card and exposed it as in the previous trials. The observers were still able to read but four letters. That is to say, up to a certain point all could be seen; when the number of objects (*i.e.*, letters) was doubled, the chances that any particular object would be seen were reduced to fifty per cent. When the number of objects was increased threefold,

the chance of any particular object being seen was reduced to thirty-three per cent. If I should place any four particular letters on the right-hand page of any magazine, and also the same four letters on the opposite page, and have nothing else on these pages, it is safe to say that the letters would be seen, with more or less attention, in one or both cases by every one who turns over the pages of the magazine. This follows, because at the ordinary reading distance the field of even comparatively distinct vision is smaller than a single page of ordinary magazine size, and as one turns the pages the attention is not wider than the page and therefore the letters have no rivals and would of necessity fill or occupy the attention for an instant of time, or until the page was turned over. If one hundred of these letters were placed on each of the pages, the chances that any particular letter would be seen are greatly reduced.

This seems to indicate that, other things being equal, the full-page advertisement is the "sure-to-be-seen" advertisement, and that the size of an advertisement determines the number of chances it has of being seen.

This principle, which holds for the parts of a page, might not hold for adjoining pages. Thus it might not be to the advantage of an advertisement to be the only advertisement or the only one of a certain class of goods in any periodical. If there were eight advertisements of automobiles on a single page, the casual reader would probably see but one or two of them. If there were eight full-page advertisements of automobiles on adjoining pages of the same magazine, even the casual reader would be likely to see them all. Whether each of these eight full-page advertisements would be as effective as one would be if it were the only one in

the magazine is a question for further consideration and will be taken up at a later time.

If on a single page there are but few words set in display type, and if these words stand out with no competitors for the attention of the reader, the chances

**Cool Off
in Colorado**

If it's hot where you are and you want a change of air, if you are tired and overworked and need a little outing; go to Colorado. It is the one perfect summer spot in America. The pure, dry, invigorating air, the glory of the mountain scenery, the quiet restfulness of the place, the fine fishing and golf links, the comfortable hotels and boarding houses, all go to make Colorado the ideal country for seekers after health and pleasure.

**Burlington
Route**

Send for our "Handbook of Colorado."

A trip to Colorado costs but little. Our handbook tells all about the prices for board and the attractions at different places. Send for a copy TO-DAY. No charge. At the same time I will mail you a circular telling about the very cheap tickets we are selling to Colorado. Round trip from Chicago, \$25 and \$30; from St. Louis, \$21 and \$25, according to the date. It takes but one night on the road from either Chicago or St. Louis to Denver.

J. B. EUSTIS, Passenger Traffic Manager C. B. & Q. Ry. Co., Chicago.

No. 1

are in favor of any particular person reading this much of the advertisement. Thus, in the advertisement of the Burlington Railroad reproduced herewith (No. 1), the words "Cool off in Colorado" stand out without having to compete with any counter attraction. If this idea causes the reader to stop but for a second he will next

see the display "Burlington Route" and then "Send for our Handbook of Colorado." No one of these displays competes with the other, but each assists the other.

[illegible]

No. 2

In the advertisement of Dr. Slocum, as reproduced herewith (No. 2), there is so much put in display type and in so many styles of type that nothing stands out clearly and distinctly. Each individual display seems to screech at the reader as he turns the page. The result is that the ordinary reader feels confused, and turns away

from such a page without any definite idea as to what it is all about. Each display is a counter attraction to each other one, and so the effect of all is weakened.

(7) The second principle is that *the power of any object to attract our attention depends on the intensity of the sensation aroused.*

The bright headlight of the locomotive and the red lanterns which are used as signals of danger arouse such strong sensations that we simply must see them.

Moving objects produce a stronger sensation than objects at rest. This accounts for the introduction of all sorts of movement in street advertising.

Certain colors attract attention more than others. Prof. Harlow Gale has made some experiments to determine what the attention value of the different colors is. He has found that red is the color having the greatest attention value, green is the second, and black is the third. Black on a white background is more effective than white on a black background.

Large and heavy types not only occupy a large amount of space and so force attention to themselves by excluding counter attractions, but, in addition to this, they affect the eye and give a strong sensation and thereby attract the attention. Experiments have been made to find the attention value of the different-sized type. It has been found that, within the limits of the experiments, the attention value of display type increases in almost exact proportion to the increase of its size.

The eye is like a photographer's camera. If it is focused for any particular object, all others appear through it to be blurred and indistinct. If I fix my eyes upon an object directly in front of me, all others are seen but dimly. My hand, held to the extreme right

or left, is then seen so indistinctly that I cannot count the fingers. Objects that fall under the direct gaze of the eyes make stronger visual impressions than those which fall out of the focus. The former ordinarily attract the attention, the latter seldom do. As one turns over the pages of advertisements, those which fall directly within the focus of the eye have the best chance of attracting the attention.

An important question for the advertiser is: Where does the ordinary reader direct his eyes as he turns the pages of a magazine? Does he begin at the front or at the back of the magazine? Does he turn his eyes first to the top or to the middle or to the bottom of the page? Are his eyes turned more to the right or more to the left of the page? These questions have been the subject of frequent discussion, but they never have been subjected to sufficiently extensive investigation.

The third principle is that *the attention value of an object depends upon the contrast it forms to the object presented with it, preceding or following it.* (3)

The contrast produced by a flash of lightning on a dark night, or by the hooting of an owl at midnight, is so strong that the attention is absolutely forced, and there is no one who can disregard them. Novel things and sudden changes of any sort are noticed, while familiar things and gradual changes are hardly noticed at all.

This is a matter of common experience, but has been strikingly illustrated with frogs. The following quotation is taken from a recent work of the director of the psychological laboratory at Yale University: "Although a frog jumps readily enough when put in warm water, yet a frog can be boiled without a movement if the water is heated slowly enough. In one experiment

the water was heated at the rate of .0036 of a degree Fahrenheit per second; the frog never moved and at the end of two and one-half hours was found dead. He had evidently been boiled without noticing it."

My explanation of these results is that at any point of time the temperature of water was in such little contrast with the temperature a moment before that the attention of the frog was never attracted to the temperature of the water at all; so the frog was actually boiled to death without becoming aware of the fact!

As we turn the pages of a magazine we do not see each page as an independent unit, but we see it in relation to what has gone before. If it is in marked contrast to the preceding there is a sort of shock felt which is in reality the perception of the contrast. This element is a constant force in drawing the attention. What has been said of the full page is equally true of the parts of it.

In the case of magazine or newspaper advertising, the responsibility for making effective contrasts is shared alike by the individual advertiser and by the "make-up." Contrasts may be so harmoniously formed that the things contrasted are mutually strengthened, just as is the case when red and green are placed in juxtaposition. The red looks redder and the green looks greener. But if the contrast is incongruous the value of each is impaired. Thus if two musical but mutually discordant tones are sounded together or one after the other, the beauty of each is lost.

No one has been conscious of this principle of contrast to a greater extent than the advertiser. He has introduced all sorts of things into his advertisements merely to attract attention through contrast: He has inserted his advertisements upside down; he has had the lines

of the reading matter run crosswise; he has substituted black background for the ordinary white. The inherent skill of the American advertiser has been made manifest by this ingenuity in devising novel, ever-changing, and striking contrasts. Indeed, some have followed this principle too far and have produced novelties and contrasts, but their work has not been successful, because they have violated other equally important principles.

Thus the advertisement of the Burlington Route employs the principle of contrast successfully. The advertisement of Dr. Slocum makes use of the same principle, but the result is nothing short of a botch.

The three principles as given above are important and are the three methods which the practical advertiser uses most to attract attention. The three which shall be given next are methods which are of almost equal importance, but which are frequently disregarded by the writers of advertisements.

The fourth principle is that *the power which any object has to attract our attention, or its attention value, depends on the ease with which we are able to comprehend it.*

(4)

This principle is one which is often neglected by the advertiser. A few illustrations will help to make it clear. A child in turning over the pages of a book or magazine does not have his attention attracted at all by the printed words. Even the pictures do not attract his attention unless they are in bright colors or represent something which he can understand. The same thing is true with adults. We will turn our attention to nothing unless it speaks to us in terms which we can interpret with comparative ease. It is difficult to comprehend an entirely new thing or function. From this it follows that a new article should be introduced

as a modification of a familiar one, or as something performing a well-known function. The pedagogical maxim of always advancing from the known to the unknown is so well established that its violation must be regarded as more or less suicidal.



No. 3

Styles of lettering that are not easily read and cuts that are not easily interpreted are not so attractive as lettering and cuts that are more simple and transparent in their meaning.

Cuts that in themselves are good and lettering that is distinct may be so united and so dimmed by the

background that the whole is an indistinct blur. As an example of an advertisement that is good as to individual details but poor as to the entire effect, we have reproduced herewith (No. 3) an advertisement of the Purina Mills. The display of this advertisement is

WHERE YOU CAN, AND
WHERE YOU CANNOT,
ECONOMIZE.

A cheaper horse is simply LESS valuable: an ugly flower has no value at all. Cloth not so fine may not wear quite so long: an out-of-style bonnet is unwearable. If you cannot afford mahogany, maple will do; but poor varnish is death to the beauty of anything.

MURPHY VARNISH CO.

FRANKLIN MURPHY, President.

Head Office: Newark, N. J.
Other Offices: Boston, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Chicago.
Factories: Newark and Chicago.

No. 4

hard to read, and it is, therefore, not so attractive as it would otherwise be.

The name or brand of goods often makes them difficult to advertise. Thus Orangeine does not suggest what the Orangeine Chemical Company would have it suggest. People do not know what it is, and so fail to be attracted by the advertisement simply because it is meaningless to them.

Many advertisers have used certain forms of expression and illustrations which bear no necessary relation to the rest of the advertisement or to the goods advertised. They have been called "irrelevant words"



"it's easy
to ask for"

White Star Coffee

Buying coffee in one and two pound cans makes it possible for you to obtain all the strength and all the flavor. This is really what you buy for the ground you throw away. A pound of

**White
Star Coffee**
will make more cups than a pound of any other brand, because it is developed more highly.

No. 5

or "irrelevant cuts," as the case might be. Their function is presumably that of attracting attention. As they stand, they are not easily comprehended, and actual experiment has shown that they do not attract the attention of one hastily looking at the page of the magazine as often as relevant words or relevant cuts.

The advertisement of the Murphy Varnish Company, as reproduced on page 271 (No. 4), has made use of a form of display which we would call "irrelevant words." This display has nothing particular to do with varnish. It could be used equally well with almost any advertisement appearing in magazines to-day. It would, however, be equally poor in any case. It does not increase the reader's knowledge concerning the proposition which the varnish company has to offer, and the ordinary reader would not be likely to be attracted by any such "catch-words" as these.

The advertisers of the White Star Coffee (No. 5) have filled up one-half of their space with the picture of a slimy frog. When one is thinking of frogs he is not in condition to listen to the arguments in favor of any coffee. But, aside from such considerations, I believe that there is no proof that such an open attempt to force the attention of the reader is advisable or successful.

The advertisement of the American Lead Pencil Company, as reproduced herewith (No. 6), has made use of cuts that *illustrate*. Such an illustration is called a relevant cut. The casual reader sees at a glance what this advertisement is all about, and such advertisements attract us instantly.

The great majority of all advertisements appearing at the present time make use of words in display type which indicate in brief what the entire advertisement is about. Such headings are called relevant words. The picture which tells the story is more easily comprehended than any possible expression in words. This is one reason why the picture is the most attractive form of advertising.

The fifth principle is that *the attention value of an*

object depends on the number of times it comes before us, or on repetition.

It is no anomaly that children are attracted most by the oft-repeated tale. This is in but apparent contra-



No. 6

diction to the third principle. A thing which is in contrast to all other things and yet frequently repeated meets both conditions. The psychological explanation of the value of repetition is somewhat involved, but the fact is seen by every careful observer. The questions concerning repetition as applied to advertising are as yet unsettled.

In the case of goods having an equal sale all the year, if a given advertisement is to appear one hundred times, is it best to insert it in one hundred different magazines once, so that the reader can see it in all his periodicals for a few days, or is it better to have the same advertisement appear in one hundred different issues of the same magazine? In other words, are repetitions more effective if they follow rapidly one after the other, or if they are separated by a longer period of time?

Another question is this: How much of an advertisement should be repeated? Some advertisements have unchangeable characteristics which are always repeated and which serve to identify all the advertisements of a particular house. Others are completely changed as to all prominent features with every issue, and the casual observer would not notice that the two successive advertisements were for the same goods—he certainly would not notice that they were from the same house. Still other advertisements have certain prominent features which are constantly changing, but which are always recognizable as representing the same firm.

The advertisement which is the same from year to year is lacking in contrast. It is not necessarily ineffective, but it takes time to accomplish its results. The frog that was boiled without noticing it succumbed at last to the slowly rising temperature. The man who sees the same advertisement month after month will at last purchase the goods advertised without ever having paid any particular attention to the advertisement and would be unable to say why he purchased those particular goods.

The advertisement which is changed completely with every issue is lacking in repetition value and would be good only when it is of such a nature that a large per

cent. of the intended purchasers would read it thoroughly enough to supply the missing links and to unite it to the others of the series.

The advertisement with a constant recognizable feature that varies in detail from time to time allows for both change and repetition, and is to that extent the best advertisement.



I Print My Own Cards

Circulars, Newspaper, Presses &c. Largest, \$10.
Money saved. Big profits printing for others.
Type setting easy, rules sent. Write for catalog.
presses, type, paper, etc., to factory.

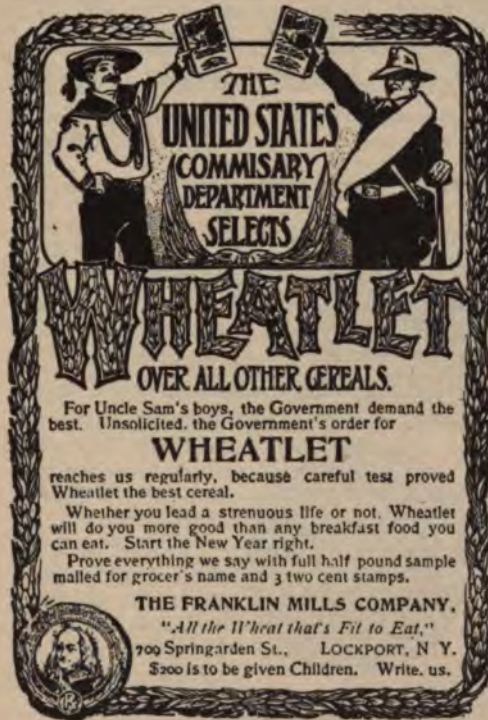
THE PRESS CO., Meriden, Conn.

No. 7

This advertisement of a printing press company (No. 7) has, so far as I know, never been changed. It is just the same in all publications in which the firm advertises, and is the same year in and year out. It has doubtless been more or less successful. Would it have been more effective if the copy had been changed?

The two advertisements of the Franklin Mills (Nos. 8 and 9) have nothing in common. No one but a careful reader would know that they were advertisements of the same firm. This same firm has been careful to have the wheat border in all advertisements of Wheatlet. The seal containing the portrait of Franklin is also often present in the advertisements of Wheatlet. Would it not be advisable to retain this wheat border or the seal in all advertisements issuing from this firm? If certain readers had become interested in the advertisements of Wheatlet, for instance, and had become familiar with the characteristic seal, they would be attracted by the other advertisements of this firm if they saw the seal down in the corner of the advertisement.

Very many firms are at the present time changing their copy frequently, but they retain some characteristic feature so that we can recognize the new advertisements as old friends in a new form. Thus the Cream of Wheat advertisements are identified by the



No. 8

genial colored chef. I have come to like that chef, and am attracted by every advertisement in which he appears. If he were left out, I should not be so likely to notice the advertisement as I am with him in it. Each of their advertisements is in a sense new and in contrast with all their other advertisements, but this col-

ored chef offers just enough of repetition to make the advertisement attractive.

The sixth and last principle is that *the attention value of an object depends on the intensity of the feeling aroused.*

"Half a Loaf

is better than no loaf"

is a good, true old saying; half a loaf is better than a whole loaf if that half loaf be made of



Containing "all the wheat that's fit to eat."

This is the trade-mark to be found on every package and every barrel of the genuine **Franklin Mills Flour.**



It is sold by first-class grocers generally in original packages of from 6½ lbs. to full barrels of 196 lbs.

Manufactured only by
THE FRANKLIN MILLS CO., Lockport, N. Y.
WRITE THEM FOR FREE BOOKLET.

No. 9

Attention is not merely a process in which the mind grasps a certain fact, but it is also a process in which we feel. It is either a pleasurable or a painful feeling. That a thing may attract our attention it must not affect us indifferently, but must either please or dis-

please us. At this point the work of the true artist becomes essential. In the ideal advertisement the emotions and sensibilities of the possible customers must be appealed to.

In all advertisements the esthetic feelings may be aroused by at least the harmonious combinations of color and form. Curiosity, pride, sympathy, ambition, and many other feelings and emotions have been awakened by the skillful advertiser. With certain advertisers the desire seems to have been merely to attract attention regardless of the emotion awakened. They have been successful in attracting attention, but their advertisements are so obtrusive and repulsive that their value, as a means of selling goods, is inconsiderable.

The man who confines himself to the simple statement of facts may not be subject to the mistakes that befall the man who attempts more difficult things. The photographer presents all the details of a scene, but he does not appeal to the emotions and the heart of the public as the artist does. The work of the photographer may be truer to the facts, but the work of the artist attracts our attention more readily. We do not understand the feelings and emotions of the human breast, and yet it is often advisable to run the risk of attempting appeals to the emotions.

There are scores of advertisers who attempt to appeal to the joyful emotions. It should be remembered that joy is but one of the emotions. The visitor to an art gallery is at once struck by the frequent appeal to the sadder emotions. It is not at all easy to find in our magazine advertising any appeal or any reference to the more pathetic aspects of life. The following is a reproduction (No. 10) of an advertisement of the Prudential Insurance Company. This advertisement does not ap-

pear in recent magazines, yet it is certainly much better than many highly approved advertisements of insurance companies. The skillful advertiser should be able to appeal to more than one emotion and he should be able



It is hard enough on a woman to be thrown on her own resources. The death of the husband and father is quite enough by itself. If the burden of debt and want be added to it, the woman's life is hardly worth the living. Comparatively few men in America are able to accumulate any money. Perhaps not one in a hundred does it. It is this that makes life insurance an imperative necessity. Nobody can take the insurance money away from the one to whom you make it payable. It will not assuage the grief, but it will increase the comfort of those who are living. It discharges, to some extent, the obligation every man incurs when he marries.

Our two forms of life insurance, the "Industrial" (for policies of \$1000 or less, on weekly payments) and the "Ordinary" (for policies of \$1000 and more, quarterly, semi-annual, and annual payments), are clearly explained in our booklets—sent free on request.

Prudential Insurance Co.
of America

JOHN F. DRYDEN, President. Home Office, NEWARK, N. J.
Resident Office, New York, N. Y.

No. 10

to appeal to the one which brings the reader into the attitude of mind which is in keeping with the proposition offered.

The designer of advertisements must be something more than a skilled artisan; he must be an artist and must be able to put soul into his work, so that his production will appeal to the sentiment as well as to the

intellect of those who are to be influenced by it. The art demands the work of an artist.

Such is in brief the discussion of the six fundamental principles underlying the psychology of involuntary attention in general, and the psychology of involuntary attention as applied to advertising in particular. The purpose of this chapter is to present in an introductory manner the psychology of a part of advertising, *i.e.*, involuntary attention, and with special reference to magazine and newspaper advertising.

Before the psychology of involuntary attention is complete, the following are among the questions that must be investigated:

What is the comparative attention value of small and of large spaces, for instance, a quarter and a full page advertisement?

What is the comparative attention value of advertisements next to reading matter and of advertisements segregated at the beginning and the end of magazines?

What is the comparative attention value of space among classified advertisements and of space among unclassified advertisements, or advertisements of a different class of goods?

Is the additional attention value secured by tinted paper, colored type, and colored cuts sufficient to warrant their increased introduction?

For any particular class of advertisements, what is the least possible space for a must-be-seen advertisement?

What size and style of type is the most valuable for attracting attention?

What part of a page and which pages are the most valuable for attention?

What is the comparative attention value of novel and of conventional advertisements?

How does repetition affect the attention value of an advertisement? How complete should the repetition be and how often and how rapidly should the advertisement be repeated to secure the best results?

Is a small advertisement appearing one hundred times a year as good as one ten times as large and appearing ten times in a year?

What are the respective attention values of relevant cuts, relevant words, irrelevant cuts, and irrelevant words?

Is a line of display type extending entirely across a page as valuable as the same display in two lines extending half across the page?

What is the relative attention value of representations of the pathetic, humorous, pleasing, and displeasing?

Such is a brief syllabus for future investigation upon involuntary attention as applied to advertising. These questions can probably all be answered, some easily and others only after difficult and extensive investigations. It is quite plain that investigation on these questions would be of the greatest practical value to the advertiser.

XXII

ATTENTION VALUE OF SMALL AND
OF LARGE SPACES

THERE are certain things which seem to force themselves upon us whether we will or not. We seem to be compelled to attend to them by some mysterious instinctive tendency of our nervous organization. Thus moving objects, sudden contrasts, large objects, etc., seem to catch our attention with irresistible force. Again there are certain conditions which favor attention and others which hinder it. Among the conditions favoring attention the following is, for the advertiser, of special significance. *The power of any object to compel attention depends upon the absence of counter-attraction.* In the preceding chapter appeared the following paragraph:

“Other things being equal, the probabilities that any particular thing will catch our attention are in proportion to the absence of competing attractions. This may be demonstrated in a specific case as follows: I had a card of convenient size and on it were four letters. This card was exposed to view for one twenty-fifth of a second, and in that time all the four letters were read by the observers. I then added four other letters and exposed the card one twenty-fifth of a second as before. The observers could read but four of the letters as in the previous trial, but in this exposure there was no

certainly that any particular letter would be read. I then added four more letters to the card and exposed the letters as in the previous trials. The observers were still able to read but four letters. That is to say, up to a certain point all could be seen. When the number of objects (*i.e.*, letters) was doubled, the chances that any particular object would be seen were reduced fifty per cent. When the number of objects was increased three-fold, the chances of any particular object being seen were reduced to thirty-three per cent. If I should place any particular four letters on the right and also the same letters on the left hand page of any magazine and have nothing else on the page, it is safe to say that the letters would be seen, with more or less attention, in one or both cases by every one who turns over the pages of the magazine. This follows because at the ordinary reading distance the field of even comparatively distinct vision is smaller than a single page of ordinary magazine size, and as one turns the pages the attention is ordinarily not wider than the page, and therefore the letters have no rivals and would of necessity fill or occupy the attention for an instant of time, or until the page was turned over. If one hundred of these letters are placed on each of the pages the chances that any particular letter will be seen are greatly reduced. This seems to indicate that, other things being equal, the full-page advertisement is the 'sure-to-be-seen' advertisement and that the size of an advertisement determines the number of chances it has of being seen."

Even a casual reader of advertisements is aware of the fact that full-page advertisements attract attention more than smaller advertisements. Every advertiser knows that if he should occupy full pages he would secure more attention than if he should occupy quarter

pages, yet one of the most perplexing questions which any advertiser has to deal with is the adequate amount of space for any particular advertisement or for any particular advertising campaign. The question is not as to the superiority of full pages in comparison with smaller spaces. All feel sure that any advertisement would be more valuable if it occupied a full page than if it occupied only half of it. But the real question is whether it is twice as valuable, for it costs practically twice as much. A quarter-page announcement is valuable, but a half-page is worth more—is it worth twice as much? It is of course conceded that some advertisements are unprofitable regardless of the space occupied, and that others are profitable when filling various amounts of space. It is also conceded that certain advertisements require a large space and that others are profitable as an inch advertisement but would be unprofitable if inflated to occupy a full page.

There are exceptions and special cases, but the question can be intelligently stated as follows: Of all the advertisements being run in current advertising, which is the more profitable, in proportion to the space occupied, the large or the small advertisement? Since profitableness is a very broad term and depends upon many conditions, we will for the present confine ourselves to one of the characteristics of a profitable advertisement, *i.e.*, its attention value.

The quotation presented above was deduced from a theoretical study of attention, before opportunity had been offered to verify it by means of experiments with advertisements. To investigate the question the following tests were made: I handed each of the forty students in my class a copy of the current issue of the *Century Magazine*. I then asked them to take the magazines

and look them through, just as they ordinarily do, but not to read any poetry or long articles. Some of them put in all their time reading advertisements; some glanced through the advertisements, read over the table of contents and looked over the reading matter; a few failed even to look at the advertisements. At the end of ten minutes, I surprised them by asking them to lay aside the magazines and write down all they could remember about each of the advertisements they had seen. I sent the same magazines to other persons in other parts of the country and had them use the magazines in the same way in which I had used them. In this way tests were made with over five hundred persons mostly between the ages of ten and thirty.

These results were carefully tabulated as to the exact number of persons who mentioned each individual advertisement. We then got together all references to each particular advertisement and so could compare the different advertisements, not only as to the fact of bare remembrance, but also as to the amount of information which each had furnished, the desire it had created to secure the goods, etc. At the present time we shall consider all advertisements mainly from the standard of attracting attention sufficiently to be recalled by those who saw them.

Out of the ninety-one full-page advertisements, sixty-four of them are advertisements of books and periodicals, while of the half-page, quarter-page, and small advertisements there is a total of about five pages devoted to books and periodicals. To compare the full-page advertisements with the other advertisements in this particular magazine would be to compare advertisements of books and periodicals with advertisements of other classes of goods. To obviate this difficulty, we shall di-

vide all advertisements into two classes: (1) those of goods other than books and periodicals; (2) those of books and periodicals.

The twenty-seven full-page advertisements of goods other than books or periodicals were remembered (mentioned in the reports of the five hundred persons tested) five hundred and thirty times, which is an average of approximately twenty for each advertisement. The sixty-four full-page advertisements of books and periodicals were remembered six hundred and six times, which is an average of nine times for each advertisement.

The thirty-nine half-page advertisements of goods other than books or periodicals were mentioned three hundred and fifty-eight times, which is an average of nine times for each advertisement.

The sixty-seven quarter-page advertisements, other than those of books or periodicals, were mentioned two hundred and twenty-three times, which is an average of three for each advertisement. The three quarter-page advertisements of books and magazines were mentioned only twice, which is an average of less than one for each advertisement.

As less than a single quarter-page of small advertisements was of books and periodicals, it is useless to consider such advertisements separately. There are ninety-eight small advertisements, and these were mentioned but sixty-five times, which is an average of much less than one for each advertisement.

The inefficiency of the small advertisement is made more striking when we consider that for all advertisements other than for those of books and periodicals a full page was mentioned approximately twenty times, a half-page nine times, a quarter-page three times, and a small advertisement less than a single time. As is shown

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in the following table of all advertisements other than those of books and periodicals, a quarter-page advertisement was mentioned thirty per cent. oftener than a quarter-page of small advertisements; a half-page advertisement was mentioned eighty per cent. oftener than a half-page of small advertisements; and a full-page advertisement was mentioned ninety per cent. oftener than a full page of small advertisements.

The tabulated results for all advertisements other than of books and periodicals are as follows:

Size of Advertisement.	Full-page.	Half-page.	Quarter-page.	Small.
Number of advertisements.....	27	39	67	98
Pages occupied.....	27	$18\frac{1}{2}$	$16\frac{3}{4}$	6
Total number out of 500 persons who mentioned them.....	530	358	223	65
Average number of mentions for each advertisement.....	$19\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{7}$	$9\frac{7}{8}$	3	$\frac{6}{8}\frac{5}{8}$
Average number of mentions for each page occupied.....	$19\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{7}$	$18\frac{1}{8}\frac{4}{8}$	13	10

When we consider the advertisements for books and periodicals, the differences are enormous. A half-page advertisement was noticed fifty per cent. oftener than two quarter-page advertisements, and a full-page advertisement was mentioned two hundred and fifty per cent. oftener than four quarter-page advertisements.

The tabulated results for advertisements of books and periodicals are as follows:

Size of Advertisement.	Full-page.	Half-page.	Quarter-page.	Small.
Number of advertisements.....	64	8	3	Less than a single quarter-page of small advertisements of books and periodicals.
Pages occupied.....	64	4	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Total number out of 500 persons who mentioned them.....	606	16	2	
Average number of mentions for each advertisement.....	$9\frac{1}{2}$	2	$\frac{1}{3}$	
Average number of mentions for each page occupied.....	$9\frac{1}{2}$	4	$2\frac{2}{3}$	

An advertisement was regarded as "remembered" if it was mentioned at all. In some instances the illustration alone was remembered and the person mentioning it was unable to tell what advertisement the illustration was used with. In a few instances the illustration

*A Room School Minnesota
May 13, 1902*

When looking through this magazine I found one advertisement which attracted my attention. This one was on page 60, was one of two little boys represented as being out in the winter cold. How folly they look and what an expression they have on their face as if there was no winter to them. These two 'chaps' surely will need Packer's Tar Soap, for their chapped hands after snow-balling. This advertisement attracts my attention because of the picture, and also because of the advertisement itself.

Esther Hedlund

No. 1.—This report indicates the educational value of this advertisement.

of one brand of goods was interpreted as an advertisement of the competing brand. On the other hand the results were frequently astounding in their revelation of the effectiveness of the advertisements in imparting the essential information and creating a desire for the goods. The cut (No. 1) is a reproduction of the



No. 2.—A full-page advertisement possessing great attention value.

report of one of the pupils in Minneapolis, made after she had looked through the magazine for ten minutes without the knowledge that she would be called upon to report on what she had read. The advertisement described by this pupil was mentioned more than any other and is reproduced herewith as No. 2.

Soon after the completion of the investigation described above a supplementary investigation was de-

vised to see whether similar results would be secured from a more diversified list of advertisements and from the class of persons for whom the advertisements were especially written. We took the binding wires out of a large number of magazines and thus were able to make a collection of advertising pages without tearing the margins of the leaves. We made use of magazines of different years and of different kinds, but all used were of uniform magazine size. From these leaves we chose one hundred pages of advertisements, being careful to choose as many different styles of advertisements as possible. We had in these pages advertisements of almost everything which has been advertised in magazines of recent years. We had all the different styles of display, of type and illustration, of colored cuts and tinted paper, etc. We had these hundred pages bound up with the body of a current magazine, and the whole thing looked like any ordinary magazine. Indeed, no one suspected that it was "made up" as he looked at it.

This specially prepared magazine was handed to fifty adults. A large number of them were heads of families, readers of magazines, and purchasers of the goods advertised. Thirty-three of them were women and seventeen men. Some of them lived in a city and some in a country town. As we had tried to choose all the different kinds of advertisements possible, so we tried to get all kinds and conditions of people for subjects. With three exceptions, the subjects knew nothing of the nature of the experiment. Some of them knew that it was for experimental purposes, but some of them merely took the magazine and looked it through, supposing that it was the latest magazine. Each one was requested to look through the magazine and, in every case tabulated, all the hundred pages of advertisements were turned. Some of

the subjects turned the pages rapidly and got through in three minutes, others were thirty minutes in getting through. The average time for the fifty subjects was a little over ten minutes.

As soon as each subject had completely looked through the magazine it was taken away from him and he was asked to "mention" all the advertisements which he had seen, and to tell all about each of them. What he said was written down, and then the subject was given the magazine again and asked to look it through and indicate each advertisement which he recognized as one which he had seen but had forgotten to mention.

There was very great diversity in individuals in their ability to mention the advertisements which they had just seen. Some of them mentioned as high as thirty different advertisements; one man was unable to mention a single advertisement which he had seen, although all the one hundred pages of advertisements had been before his eyes but a moment before.

There was also great diversity in subjects in their ability to recognize the advertisements when they looked through the magazine the second time. Some of them recognized as high as one hundred advertisements when looking through the second time and were surprised that they had forgotten to mention them. Others, in looking through the second time, were surprised to see how unfamiliar the magazine looked. One subject, who mentioned but three advertisements, could recognize only three others. He had no recollection of having seen any of the others. This would seem to indicate that certain persons may turn over the advertising pages of a magazine and yet hardly see the advertisements at all.

As in the previous investigations, we divided all advertisements into two classes: (1) advertisements of

goods other than books and periodicals and called, therefore, miscellaneous advertisements; (2) advertisements of books and periodicals.

The forty-three pages of full-page miscellaneous advertisements were mentioned two hundred and eighty-one times and recognized five hundred and forty-four times. That is, each of these advertisements was mentioned on an average of $6\frac{2}{3}$ times and recognized on an average of $12\frac{2}{3}$ times in addition.

The thirty-one full-page advertisements of books and periodicals were mentioned eighty-five times by the fifty subjects, which is an average of $2\frac{2}{3}$ times for each advertisement. The thirty-one full pages were recognized (upon looking through the magazine a second time) two hundred and seventy-six times by the fifty subjects, in addition to the "mentions." Each of these advertisements was thus recognized on an average almost nine times.

The fifteen half-page advertisements of miscellaneous advertisements were mentioned forty-one times, which is an average of $2\frac{1}{3}$ times for each. The fifteen advertisements were recognized one hundred and eighteen times in addition, which is an average of $7\frac{1}{3}$ times for each one.

There are but four half-page advertisements of books and periodicals, and only one of them was mentioned by any of the fifty, and that but once. That gives an average of one-fourth mention for each advertisement. They were recognized by twenty-four, which is an average of six for each advertisement.

The thirty-six quarter-page miscellaneous advertisements were mentioned thirty-nine times, which is an average of $1\frac{1}{2}$ times for each advertisement. They were recognized one hundred and twenty-two times, which

is an average of $3\frac{7}{8}$ times for each. There are six quarter-page advertisements of books and periodicals. These six were mentioned only three times, which is an average of one-half for each advertisement.

The ninety-three small miscellaneous advertisements were mentioned fourteen times, which makes an average of fourteen ninety-thirds. They were recognized thirty-four times, which is an average of thirty-four ninety-thirds for each advertisement. Of the small advertisements, only seven were of books and periodicals; these seven were mentioned once, which is an average of one-seventh for each. The seven were recognized only twice, or on the average of two-sevenths.

The following tabulations will make clear the results secured from fifty adults:

Tabulated results for all miscellaneous advertisements secured from fifty adults as follows:

Size of Advertisement.	Full-page.	Half-page.	Quarter-page.	Small.
Number of advertisements.....	43	15	36	93
Pages occupied.....	43	$7\frac{1}{2}$	9	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Total number of mentions.....	281	41	39	14
Average number of mentions for each advertisement.....	$6\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$
Average number of mentions for each page occupied.....	$6\frac{2}{3}$	$5\frac{7}{12}$	$4\frac{1}{3}$	$2\frac{6}{11}$
Total (additional) number of recognitions.....	544	118	122	34
Average number of recognitions for each advertisement.....	$12\frac{2}{3}$	$7\frac{1}{3}$	$3\frac{7}{12}$	$\frac{8}{11}$
Average number of recognitions for each page occupied.....	$12\frac{2}{3}$	$15\frac{1}{3}$	$13\frac{5}{6}$	$6\frac{2}{11}$

Tabulated results for all advertisements of books and periodicals secured from fifty adults as follows:

Size of Advertisement.	Full-page.	Half-page.	Quarter-page.	Small.
Number of advertisements.....	31	4	6	7
Pages occupied.....	31	2	1½	½
Total number who mentioned them	85	1	3	1
Average number of mentions for each advertisement.....	$2\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{11}$	¼	½	⅓
Average number of mentions for each page occupied.....	$2\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{11}$	½	2	1
Total (additional) number of recognitions.....	276	24	11	2
Average number of recognitions for each advertisement.....	$8\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{11}$	6	1½	⅔
Average number of recognitions for each page occupied.....	$8\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{11}$	12	7½	4

As is shown by the foregoing, for all kinds of advertisements, with but one exception, a full-page advertisement was mentioned oftener than two half-page advertisements, two half-page advertisements were mentioned oftener than four quarter-page advertisements, and four quarter-page advertisements were mentioned oftener than a full page of small advertisements. The exception referred to is the half-page advertisements of books which fell below all other-sized advertisements, but as the number of "recognized" is very large, the apparent exception should not be emphasized.

Although an advertisement had not impressed the reader sufficiently to enable him to mention it after he had closed the magazine, yet it may have made such an

impression on him that he could recall it if a need or something else should arise to suggest it to his mind. Thus, to find out how many of the advertisements had made any appreciable impression, we had each subject see how many of the advertisements in the magazine he could recognize a few minutes after he had looked through it for the first time. The results given above indicate that a quarter-page advertisement was recognized oftener than a quarter-page of small advertisements; that a half-page advertisement was recognized oftener than two quarter-page advertisements; but that the full-page advertisements in three instances were recognized less often proportionately than smaller advertisements, *i.e.*, half-page and quarter-page miscellaneous advertisements and half-page advertisements of books and periodicals.

These three exceptional instances are of no significance inasmuch as the full-page advertisements had been previously mentioned and therefore had been excluded from those that could be merely recognized.

The report given by each subject was carefully analyzed to see how many times each advertisement impressed a subject sufficiently so that he would know at least what general class of goods the advertisement represented. Upon comparing the reports upon the different advertisements at this point, it was found that the subject knew what class of goods the full-page advertisement represented much better than what the half-page represented; that the half-page was better than the quarter-page, and that the quarter-page was better than the small advertisement.

Results were then compiled as to the comparative values of the different-sized advertisements in impressing upon the subjects the individual brand or name of

the goods advertised. It was found that this information was imparted much better by the larger advertisements. In a similar way, results were compiled as to the name and address of the firm, the price of the goods offered and the line of argument presented by the advertiser. In all of these cases it was found that the



No. 3.—This full-page advertisement attracts attention. Does it sell soap?

full-page advertisement was more than twice as effective as a half-page advertisement; a half-page was more than twice as effective as a quarter-page, and a quarter-page was more effective than a quarter page of small advertisements.

The full-page advertisements which were mentioned by the greatest number of subjects were Ivory Soap (mentioned twenty-four times and reproduced herewith

as No. 3), In-er-Seal (mentioned twenty-three times), and Pears' Soap (mentioned twenty times, reproduced herewith as No. 4). Of the twenty-four persons who mentioned Ivory Soap (No. 3), but sixteen knew that it was an advertisement of soap at all, and only fourteen



No. 4.—Full-page reproduction effective as mere display advertising.

knew that it was an advertisement of Ivory Soap. Of the twenty-three persons who mentioned In-er-Seal, only sixteen knew that it referred to biscuits, while but nine knew that it was an advertisement of In-er-Seal goods. The advertisement in question is the familiar one of a boy in a raincoat putting packages of In-er-Seal in a cupboard. Of the twenty persons who mentioned Pears' Soap (No. 4), every one of them knew that it was an advertisement of Pears' Soap. Only five of the full-page

advertisements were mentioned by none of the fifty subjects. These five were of the New York Central Railroad (No. 5), Egyptian Deities Cigarettes, Waltham Watches (No. 6), Equitable Life Assurance Society, and the Lyman D. Morse Advertising Agency. There

5=POINTERS=5

.....

1 The New York Central does not claim to be the only railroad in the world—there are others—it is, however, the great Four-track Trunk line of the United States, and has earned the title given it by press and people on both sides of the Atlantic, of "America's Greatest Railroad."

"The New York Central has broken all records for fast time in long runs of passenger trains on both sides of the Atlantic."
From an Editorial in the LONDON TIMES.

2 The New York Central operates the fastest and most perfect through train service in the world, reaching by its through cars the most important commercial centres of the United States and Canada, and the greatest of America's health and pleasure resorts.

"The public demands the highest speed, consistent with perfect safety, and the railway must provide it."
From an Editorial in the NEW YORK HERALD.

3 The New York Central is the direct Line between the American metropolis and Niagara Falls, by way of the historic Hudson River and through the beautiful Mohawk Valley.

"The most beautiful sight I ever witnessed was along the Mohawk Valley, as God's own of course were all subjects, one remark that I ever made the New York Central would have been 'what a sight it is!'"
From the LONDON TIMES, January 1st, 1900.

4 The New York Central's metropolitan terminus is at Grand Central Station, Fourth Avenue and Forty-second Street, in the very centre of the hotel, residence, and theatre section, thus being the only Trunk Line whose trains enter the City of New York.

"If there were twenty stations on Manhattan Island, none could have a better location—just there are no others."
From the BUFFALO EXPRESS.

5 The entire Main Line of the New York Central, between New York and Buffalo and Niagara Falls, is protected by the most perfect system of block signals in the world.

"See paper read before The American Society of Civil Engineers, by J. P. O'Donnell, the well-known English expert on Block Signals."

No. 5.—Weak attention value in any size.

were very many half-page, quarter-page, and small advertisements which were mentioned and recognized by none of the fifty persons tested.

The results indicated a very great difference between individual advertisements which filled the same space. Quality is more important than quantity. Certain styles of advertisements (depending upon the goods advertised

as well as on other things) are effective in any space, and others are comparatively worthless, even if filling a full page. An advertiser should certainly give more heed to the quality of his advertisement than to its size, yet the size is an important element.

Nobody wants a poor watch.
We all want a good one. The
American Waltham Watch Company
has made it possible for every-
body to own a perfect watch at
a moderate price. No one need
go to Europe for a watch
nowadays. The best are made
in Waltham, Mass., right here
in America. The Company
particularly recommends the
movements engraved with the
trade-mark "*Riverside*" or
"*Royal*" (made in various sizes),
which cost about one-third as
much as foreign movements of
the same quality. All retail jew-
elers have them or can get them.
Do not be misled or persuaded
into paying a larger price for a
watch no better and probably not
so good as a *Waltham*.

No. 6.—An advertisement possessing
but little attention value.

In the case of these one hundred pages of typical advertisements, the size of the advertisements affected their value materially. In the number of times the advertisement was mentioned from memory, in the number of times it was recognized when the magazine was looked at for the second time, and in the number of times that the advertisement conveyed definite information as to

the general class of goods advertised, the specific name or brand of the goods, the name of the firm, the address of the firm, the price of the goods, and the argument presented in favor of the goods—in all of these points (disregarding the exception mentioned above) the full-page advertisement was more than twice as effective as the half-page; the half-page was more than twice as effective as the quarter-page; the quarter-page was more effective than a quarter page of small advertisements. In other words, at all points considered in the two investigations described above, the value of an advertisement increases as the size of the advertisement increases, and the increase of value is greater than the increase in the amount of space filled.

XXIII

THE MORTALITY RATE OF ADVERTISERS

IN the preceding chapter it was shown that the larger advertisements attract the attention much more than the smaller ones. The larger ones also offer more opportunity for relevant text and appropriate illustrations. The larger advertisements are best for imparting the desired information and for making a lasting impression on the possible customers. Many business men, however, believe that the small advertisement is safer than the larger one and that the larger spaces are luxuries reserved for those who are able to incur losses without serious consequences.

If the users of large spaces are reckless and the users of small spaces cautious and conservative, we should naturally suppose that the more conservative firms would be the ones which would stay in business longest and which might be looked for in each successive year in the advertising pages of certain magazines. There is a tradition that the users of advertising space are, as a whole, rather ephemeral, that they are in the magazines to-day, and to-morrow have ceased to exist. There are, on the other hand, persons with perfect faith in advertising who believe that all a firm has to do is to advertise and its success is assured.

This chapter presents the results of extensive investigations carried on to ascertain more definitely the stability of advertisers and to discover which sizes of advertisements seem to be the safest and most profitable.

Data were secured from all firms located west of

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Buffalo and advertising in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for a period of eight years. All firms were grouped together which had appeared in this magazine but one of these years, all which had appeared two of the years, all which had appeared three of the years, etc., up to and including all of the firms which had appeared the eight years under consideration. After a careful analysis had been made the following significant results were secured:

Number of Years the Firms Continued to Advertise.	Average Number of Lines Used Annually by Each Firm.
1 year	56 lines
2 years	116 lines
3 years	168 lines
4 years	194 lines
5 years	192 lines
6 years	262 lines
7 years	218 lines
8 years	600 lines

This would seem to indicate that in general if a firm uses fifty-six lines annually in the *Ladies' Home Journal* the results will be so unsatisfactory that it will not try it again. If it uses one hundred and sixteen lines annually it will be encouraged to attempt it the second year, but will then drop out. If, on the other hand, it uses six hundred lines annually the results will be so satisfactory that it will continue to use the same magazine indefinitely. (A very large number of the firms who continued in eight years continued in for a longer time.)

There were but 1,247 firms included in the data presented above. Other data were secured from the entire number of firms advertising in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the *Delineator*, *Harper's*, and *Scribner's* for certain periods, but inasmuch as the data from all these merely confirm those presented above they are not added here.

Advertisers are in general wise business men and are usually able to tell whether their advertising pays or not. If it pays, they continue it; if it does not pay, they cease to advertise. Every one can think of an occasional exception, but in general the statement is correct. That class of advertising which is the most successful is the class most likely to be continued. That class which is the least successful is the least likely to be continued. The survival of the fittest is as true in advertising as it is in organic nature. If large spaces are more valuable in proportion to their size than small spaces, we should expect to find the larger spaces surviving. If the smaller spaces are more valuable in proportion to their size we should expect to find the small spaces surviving.

What has been the experience of advertisers—especially of magazine advertisers—on this point? It is a debated question whether there is a growing tendency toward larger or smaller advertisements. In articles in magazines for business men the statement is often made that we are finding it unnecessary to use large spaces, but that small spaces well filled are the more profitable.

To find out definitely what the tendency is in regard to the use of space, several investigations have been carried on. We shall, however, confine the discussion to the question as it manifests itself in the *Century Magazine*. We have chosen the *Century* because it is one of the best advertising mediums, because it has had one of the most consistent histories, and because all the files have been made available from the first issue of the magazine. We have conducted similar investigations, but in a less thorough manner, with several of the leading advertising mediums in America. In each one of these investigations we have secured results similar to those presented below from the *Century*. The following

data, therefore, show a general tendency ; so the data and discussion are not to be interpreted as having any special reference to the *Century Magazine*. In preparing the tabulation, school announcements and announcements made by the publishers of the magazine were disregarded.

In the following table the first column indicates the year, the second column the total number of pages devoted to commercial advertising during that year in the *Century Magazine*, the third column the total number of firms advertising in the magazine that year, the fourth the average number of lines used by each firm during the year, the fifth the average number of lines in each advertisement appearing in the magazine for that year, the sixth the average number of times each firm advertised in the *Century* for that year.

Several things in this tabulation are worthy of careful consideration. The total number of pages devoted to advertising has been increasing very rapidly till now there are over one thousand pages devoted to advertising annually as compared with two hundred pages which was the approximate amount during the first ten years of the existence of the magazine. With the exception of the years of financial distress in the nineties almost every year has shown an increase over the preceding year. The growth has been so constant and has been sustained for so many years that it would seem to be nothing more than a normal growth. The increase is seen to be greatest in the years of prosperity, while during the years of depression there is usually a decrease.

The second point to be considered in the tabulation is the number of firms which advertised in the magazine in the years from 1870 to 1907. It will be noticed that during the first ten years there were about two hundred

firms advertising. From 1880 to 1890 the increase was extremely rapid. In 1880 there were but two hundred and ninety-three firms, while in 1890 there were nine hundred and ten firms advertising in the same magazine. From 1890 there has been a rapid falling off till in 1907 there were but three hundred and sixty-four firms advertising in the magazine. During the year 1907 fewer firms were advertising in this magazine than for any year for a quarter of a century. Although the decrease has been but slight during the recent prosperous years, we can but wonder what will happen when a period of years comes which is less prosperous, such years, for instance, as those of the early nineties when the number of firms was so greatly reduced.

The question naturally arises as to the possibility of nine hundred firms advertising successfully during a single year in the same magazine. Perhaps it is possible, but it certainly has not been attained in 1890-1907; otherwise the firms would not have discontinued their contracts. Certain advertising managers have seen the difficulty of crowding so many advertisements into the two groups at the front and the end of the magazines and have sought to avoid the difficulty by scattering the advertisements through the reading matter. In this way all advertisements are in some magazines placed "next to reading matter." The proof is not conclusive that this method of scattering the advertisements is of any great advantage.

The point made clear by the fourth column of the table is that of the increase in the amount of space used annually by each advertiser. The fifth and sixth columns show that this increase is not due to the more frequent insertion of advertisements, but to the increased size of the individual advertisements. Until

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Date.	Total number of pages of commercial advertising for each year in the <i>Century Magazine</i> .	Total number of different firms advertising during each year in the <i>Century Magazine</i> .	Average number of lines used by each advertiser during the twelve months in the <i>Century Magazine</i> .	Average number of lines in each advertisement appearing in the <i>Century Magazine</i> for the year indicated.	Average number of times each firm advertised during the year in the <i>Century Magazine</i> .
1870	33	66	112		
1871	154	186	185		
1872	183	251	163	38	4.22
1873	196	300	146	32	4.46
1874	189	341	124	30	4.68
1875	231	318	162	31	5.65
1876	162	273	132	30	4.41
1877	178	230	173	38	4.49
1878	202	221	205	57	3.56
1879	208	224	208	63	3.30
1880	244	293	186	61	3.04
1881	312	299	233	66	3.50
1882	355	351	226	74	3.53
1883	395	463	191	59	3.23
1884	427	489	195	54	3.60
1885	446	662	150	43	3.51
1886	634	656	214	54	3.91
1887	662	731	202	51	3.96
1888	873	725	269	63	4.24
1889	893	779	256	60	4.21
1890	1061	910	261	50	4.50
1891	1173	900	292	60	4.78
1892	1178	840	314	61	5.08
1893	1141	770	332	64	5.18
1894	919	678	304	64	4.84
1895	902	638	317	61	5.13
1896	831	605	308	65	4.72
1897	828	539	332	68	4.82
1898	782	483	363	68	4.68
1899	954	473	452	77	4.90
1900	946	489	433	88	4.90
1901	921	437	472	98	4.82
1902	988	455	486	112	4.34
1903	1135	479	531	117	4.54
1904	1064	427	558	119	4.69
1905	1198	393	683	114	5.09
1906	1174	402	654	140	4.67
1907	1056	364	650	151	4.30
1908	800	296	574	131	4.38
1909	888	301	661	145	4.56
1910	906	287	707	159	4.44
1911	790	255	694	154	4.50
1912	702	221	711	157	4.53
1913	652	200	730	169	4.32
1914	588	208	633		
1915	570	178	964		
1916	655	206	713		
1917	681	212	720		
1918	549	166	740		
1919	839	253	743		
1920	1100				

1890 each firm used on the average approximately one page annually. About the year 1890 the real struggle for existence set in among advertisements, and that is the time to which we must look for the survival of the fittest. If the small advertisements had been the most profitable, then the users of small spaces would have survived and would have appeared in the following years. Such, however, is not the case. In that fierce struggle the small spaces proved to be incapable of competing with the larger spaces, and we find in the succeeding years that the users of small spaces grew gradually less. This is shown by the fact that although the number of advertisers has decreased, the amount of space used has increased. This process is still continuing. The year 1907 was almost identical with the year 1890 as to the total advertising space, but showed a decrease of sixty per cent. in the number of firms advertising, while the average amount of space used by each advertiser has increased one hundred and fifty per cent. This pronounced increase in space and decrease in the number of advertisers is perhaps the most astounding fact observed in the development of advertising in America.

It is not to be assumed that the size of a poor advertisement will keep it from failure any more than the age of a consumptive will be of supreme moment in determining his probable length of life. Neither is it to be assumed that all classes of merchandise can use full pages with profit and that no classes of business can be more successful when using small spaces than when using larger ones. The point which should be emphasized is that the size of an advertisement is one of the vital elements and that every advertising agent or manager should be an advertising expert and should be able to give advice as to the size of an advertisement

which would be the most profitable to present any particular firm with any particular text and illustration.

The advertising agents and managers should not only be experts, able to give such advice, but they should have such confidence in their own judgments that they would refuse to handle the business of any firm which insisted on using spaces which court failure. Every failure is an injury to the advertising medium, and the results of a failure should be looked upon as such a serious matter that periodicals which proved unprofitable in a large proportion of cases would be avoided. Physicians are regarded as experts along a certain line, and if patients refuse to follow their advice they not infrequently refuse to treat them further. The lawyer is an expert along another line and he assumes his client will take his advice, and is ordinarily correct in his assumption. There is no good reason why the advertising manager or agent should not be looked upon in the same way. If he is sincere in his judgments, and if he has taken account of the advertising experience of the many and not of the few, he should be able to assist the prospective advertiser in avoiding the pitfalls which have been the destruction of a very large proportion of all firms that have attempted to advertise.

Advertising can no longer be said to be in its infancy. It has now reached mature years, and it is high time that the professional advertising men should awake to their responsibility and display the same wisdom that is displayed by the physician and the lawyer. A physician prides himself not only in the number of his patients, but also in the low death-rate of his patients. I believe that the day is soon coming, and indeed is now here, when the advertising managers of our periodicals will pride themselves in the low mortality-rate of their adver-

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tisers rather than in the total number of advertising pages appearing monthly. In the end the magazine which has the lowest mortality-rate will of course be the most profitable both to the buyer and to the seller of space. Because of the psychological effect produced by the larger spaces, and because of the comparative values of large and of small spaces as given above, it is evident that one of the duties of the advertising manager and agent is to insist on the use of adequate space and to be able to advise what is adequate space in any particular case.

XXIV

THE VALUE OF ADVERTISING SPACE
NEXT TO READING MATTER

ONE of the most perplexing and widely discussed problems in magazine advertising to-day is this: Is advertising space segregated at the two ends of the magazine more valuable or less valuable than space next to reading matter? Among my friends who are advertisers or who are in advertising agencies there was neither a consensus of opinion nor sufficient data for reaching a satisfactory conclusion. For the purpose of securing more data, the following letter was sent to the leading advertisers and agencies using space in American magazines:

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, August 23.

Dear Sir,—Certain influential manufacturers with national distribution are convinced that an advertisement placed next to reading matter (such as an interesting story) is placed in a preferred position.

- Other manufacturers prefer to have their advertisement located in the section of the publication set aside for advertisements. Their conviction is based on the theory that good reading matter and good advertising matter on the same page conflict.

Both parties to the dispute seem to base their faith upon opinion rather than upon fact. The question is one of such great importance to the science of advertising that I feel justified in asking for your co-operation in an attempt to secure the truth.

1. Do you know of any evidence (facts and not opinions) that advertising next to reading matter is of greater value to the advertiser than advertising space massed at the two ends of the magazine?

2. Have you any facts to show the contrary to be true? Or

3. Have you data to prove that the matter of location in no way affects the power of the advertisement to influence the reader?

If you have such evidence, and would entrust me with it, I assure you that it will be used in a manner entirely satisfactory to you.

A letter similar to this is being sent to some of the leading advertisers in America. If you so desire I will report to you an analysis of the answers, so far as is consistent with the confidential nature of the replies.

For your convenience a self-directed envelope is enclosed for reply.

WALTER DILL SCOTT.

Replies were received from five hundred and eighty advertisers and from one hundred and ninety-six agencies. In some instances several members of the firm sent separate answers. Each of these is listed as an independent reply.

Of the five hundred and eighty advertisers, thirty-four, or almost six per cent., present facts to prove that advertising space in the segregated advertising sections is of more value than space next to reading matter.

Of the five hundred and eighty advertisers, sixty, or almost ten per cent., present facts to prove that space next to reading matter is more valuable than space in the segregated advertising sections.

Of the five hundred and eighty advertisers, fifty-four, or a little less than ten per cent., present no facts, but express the opinion that space in the segregated advertising sections is more valuable than space next to reading matter.

Of the five hundred and eighty advertisers, one hundred and thirty-one, or a little over twenty-two per cent., present no facts, but express the opinion that space next

to reading matter is superior to that in segregated advertising sections.

Of the five hundred and eighty firms, three hundred and one, or almost fifty-two per cent., assert that there is no difference in the value of space in the two classes of magazines; that they are undecided in their opinion, or fail to include in their reply any facts or expression of opinion bearing on the topic.

Of the one hundred and ninety-six advertising agency respondents, twelve, or a little over six per cent., present facts to prove that space in the segregated advertising sections is more valuable than space next to reading matter.

Of the one hundred and ninety-six advertising agency respondents, twenty-seven, or a little less than fourteen per cent., present facts to prove that space next to reading matter is more valuable than space in the segregated advertising sections.

Of the one hundred and ninety-six agency respondents, nine, or a little less than five per cent., present no facts, but express the opinion that space in the segregated advertising sections is of more value than space next to reading matter.

Of the one hundred and ninety-six agency respondents, fifty-four, or twenty-eight per cent., present no facts, but express the opinion that space next to reading matter is more valuable than space in segregated advertising sections.

Of the one hundred and ninety-six agency respondents, ninety-nine, or almost fifty-one per cent., present no facts, but express the opinion that there is no difference in value between space in segregated sections and that next to reading matter; that their evidence is not conclusive; or they present neither facts nor opinions.

Of the one hundred and ninety-six agency respondents, five present data from one group of clients indicating the superiority of segregated space, and from another group of clients indicating the superiority of space next to reading matter. These five firms are, of course, included in both the six per cent. and the fourteen per cent. as presented above.

	Facts for standards.	Facts for facts.	Opinions for standards.	Opinions for facts.	Undecided.	Total.
Advertisers.	34 (6%)	60 (10%)	54 (10%)	131 (22%)	301 (52%)	580
Agencies.	12 (6%)	27 (14%)	9 (5%)	54 (28%)	99 (51%)	201
Total.	46	87	63	185	400	781
Total per cent.	6%	11%	8%	24%	52%	

The one hundred and ninety-six advertisers are here tabulated as two hundred and one, as five presented data on both sides of the debate.

Extracts are presented herewith from typical examples of the thirty-four letters from advertisers who present facts to prove the superiority of space in segregated advertising sections.

Taking the magazines on our list in which it is customary to put the advertising matter next to reading matter, such as *Leslie's*, *Literary Digest*, and *McClure's*, and comparing the returns from these magazines with the ones in which the advertising pages are grouped in the back and front of the magazine, such as the *World's Work*, *System*, *Review of Reviews*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Outlook*, etc., I find that each sale from the magazines in which advertising appeared next to reading matter cost us 9.7 per cent. more than in the other group. Also, that the cost per inquiry increased 57.4 per cent. in the next-to-reading magazines. I further find that the average number of inquiries received from magazines which group the advertising increased 41.1 per cent. over the average number of inquiries received from magazines in which the advertising appears next to reading matter.

In the magazines which figured in the above statistics we used the same series of advertisements, each advertisement appearing once in each of the magazines, but not necessarily in the same month. The whole series was run in each of the mediums, though. (Insurance.)

In the standard magazines which carry a large advertising section, such as *Everybody's* and *System*, we have found that our advertisements when massed with the advertisements of the business world in a definite advertising section, that is, not cut up with reading matter, have proved to be more effective and more powerful to get results. We have reason to believe that in the standard magazine size publications of this nature, the policy of massing the advertisements in a bunch is much better for both the reader and the advertiser. (Typewriters.)

The only evidence on which we can base our opinion is that of the number of inquiries which we receive from advertisements. In the *Post*, for instance, in which our advertisement was placed next to reading matter, the inquiry cost was \$7.50, and in the *Literary Digest*, in which the advertisement was placed next to reading matter, the cost was \$3.50. In the *Cosmopolitan* the cost per inquiry was \$3.41. In this magazine, as you know, the advertisements are all together. You will probably be interested in the attached summary covering our advertising for the fiscal year beginning July, 1914, and ending June, 1915.

	Cost Per Inquiry.
<i>Saturday Evening Post</i>	\$7.40
<i>Literary Digest</i>	3.50
<i>Harper's</i>	5.87
<i>National Geographic</i>	4.17
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	3.41
<i>Everybody's</i>	6.23
<i>Century</i>	6.59
<i>Scribner's</i>	7.69
<i>Review of Reviews</i>	4.35
<i>Current Opinion</i>	3.26
<i>Outlook</i>	6.09
<i>World's Work</i>	3.05
<i>Good Housekeeping</i>	3.81
<i>C. L. in America</i>	3.78
<i>House Beautiful</i>	2.05
<i>Munsey's</i>	6.50
(Lighting Systems.)	

The following extracts are from the sixty letters of advertisers presenting facts indicating the superiority of advertising space next to reading matter:

Referring to your circular letter of the 23d, in answer to your question number one: We consider an advertisement placed next to reading matter has at least fifty per cent. more value than a similar advertisement buried in the midst of a heavy advertising section.

Second: Our records are in such shape that we cannot very well give you the data concerning this, but we have found invariably that the replies from any given advertisement are much greater when situated as above than when buried in the advertising section. (Fountain Pen.)

In 1914 we made up our list on an entirely different basis than in previous years. We used twenty-nine publications and we made effort to secure positions next to reading matter. Publications such as the *Cosmopolitan* and *Everybody's* we had used for years, but we dropped them from our list on the theory that very few readers would take the trouble to wade through one hundred or more solid pages of advertising.

We give preference to publications that run reading matter and advertising matter on the same page, although we used *McClure's* where the advertising was opposite reading matter. With a few exceptions, among them *Harper's* and *World's Work*, we stuck to our specifications.

Results: We received many times the largest volume of inquiries we had received in any one previous year and they came in over a longer period. Our direct sales to consumers in towns where we had no dealer distribution showed four thousand per cent. increase. (Underwear.)

Our records of mail orders received show that the magazines running their advertisements next to reading matter produced mail orders at half the cost of the standard magazines. This was not only so in one case, but out of the three or four magazines we used running ads next to reading it held out in every case against about five different standard magazines we used. (Household Chemical.)

The following extracts are from the fifty-four letters of advertisers expressing the opinion that space in the segregated advertising sections of magazines is superior to the space next to reading matter:

Personally, I lean to the idea that advertising should all be placed in one section of the magazine, as when a man is reading a story, he is not interested in advertising. I myself pick up a magazine and look over the advertisements with as much interest as I take in the reading matter, but I do not like it all mixed in together. (Furniture.)

From my own personal standpoint, would state in my opinion, advertising is more effective when placed in the proper part of a paper or magazine, and not next to reading matter, for people who are reading are not looking for advertising matter, and persons looking for ads are not looking for reading matter. (Hardware.)

Personally I have lost faith in advertising next to reading matter to quite an extent, especially where the advertisements appear alongside of the stories continued from forward part of magazine, for the reason that one is most generally too interested in the story to stop to look or even notice the ads. (Automobile.)

The following extracts are from the one hundred and thirty-one letters of advertisers expressing the opinion that space next to reading matter is more valuable than space in segregated advertising sections:

My opinion is that advertising is always very much more effective when placed next to reading matter, and that its efficiency is very much decreased by its being in the middle of an advertising section of many pages. (Steel.)

Sorry to have to advise you that I have no definite evidence to submit in this connection although I have a very definite opinion to the effect that an advertisement is much more valuable when next to reading matter than when buried in the back pages in a magazine. (Trunks.)

The following extracts are from the three hundred and one letters of advertisers who present neither facts nor decided opinions:

It has been our policy in the class of publications such as *Country Life*, *House Beautiful*, etc., to place our copy in the advertising section, inasmuch as it is our belief that the readers of this class of publications quite frequently gather their information from the advertising pages.

On the other hand, in the popular women's publications, like the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Woman's Home Companion*, we prefer space alongside of the reading matter. Perhaps this is due to the diversity of advertising matter in such popular publications, and because a large number of readers are not interested in one particular line, as are the readers of such publications as *Country Life*. This practice of ours is based entirely upon our own impressions and advertising counsel, and not upon data. (Chinaware.)

To your circular letter dated August 23d, we do not know of any evidence that advertising next to reading matter is of greater value to the advertiser than the advertising space massed at the two ends of the magazine. Nor have we any facts to show the contrary to be true.

It is our opinion that the matter of location does not affect the power of the advertisement to influence the reader. It is all in the ad and the medium. (Underwear.)

The following are extracts from the twelve letters from agencies possessing facts indicating that space in the segregated advertising sections of magazines is more valuable than space next to reading matter:

From our experience, particularly with keyed mail-order copy, we would say that advertising space massed at the two ends of a magazine is of greater value to the advertiser than advertising distributed through the reading pages.

The publications which use the former arrangement generally pay better for us. This may be due, however, to the intrinsic value of the mediums rather than to the position of the advertising.

It seems to us that the points you mention in your letter of August 23d could best be cleared up by taking the experience of manufacturers who expect direct results from their advertising, such as mail-order houses.

It has been our experience in handling a number of such accounts that the question of position is one of the most important factors.

The one magazine which has proved our biggest puller on a number of propositions happens to be standard size.

In a textile account which received about one hundred thousand replies per year on an advertising expenditure of fifteen or twenty thousand dollars, a standard magazine—with advertising at the front and back of the book and not next to reading matter—brought returns direct at a lower cost than any of the next-to-reading-matter magazines. All the magazines were cut off that did not bring replies at less than 20c. each. The goods were intended for women. The various women's publications brought returns at from 14c. to 18c. each. The standard size women's publications brought returns at about 13c.

Looking over records of returns covering several years, a sporting-goods account has always had its lowest-cost returns from a standard-shape publication.

For several years a toilet-goods manufacturer has gotten his lowest returns from general magazines, from two magazines of standard size. The next-to-reading-matter magazines have not been able to overtake these two publications in the pro rata low cost of direct replies.

A manufacturer of supplies used by business houses to handle the details of their business got his lowest cost of replies from a standard-size magazine with the advertising not running next nor opposite reading matter. The second and third magazines were standard-size magazines in the low cost of direct replies.

The manufacturer of a household article classed as furniture also got his lowest replies from a standard-size magazine.

The following extracts are from the twenty-seven letters from agencies presenting facts to prove that space next to reading matter is superior to space in the segregated advertising sections:

In a number of our advertising campaigns where the results are carefully tabulated I have found repeatedly that the magazines, when placed in the order of their showing in results, give strong evidence in favor of those which place advertisements next to reading matter. The magazines in the front of the list are nearly all of this character, whereas those that bulk the advertising in the back of the book without reading matter almost always fall to the bottom of the list.

On several mail order lists we have in this office, we have found, over a number of years' test, that most all of the publications that do the best are those which carry advertising next to reading matter.

The evidence we have to offer that advertising next to reading is of greater value than if massed in the front or back of the magazine, is that our mail-order advertising accounts actually produce a lower cost of inquiry and of sale in publications where position is given next to reading; this where rate for quantity of circulation is proportionately the same. A canvass of lists used for three or four years back shows that on mail-order accounts approximately ninety per cent. of the papers were those where advertising was given position alongside reading and ten per cent. where advertising was bulked in the front or back of the magazine.

The following extracts are from the nine letters from agencies expressing the opinion that space in the segregated advertising sections is superior to space next to reading matter:

Our belief is that people have become accustomed to reading advertisements from force of habit, and not by accident. And an advertisement placed alongside of reading matter that might attract attention would either detract from the article being written, or might be forgotten after the story is finished, and the reader would not take the trouble to go back and locate the advertisement.

When a reader opens a magazine and starts reading the advertising section, his mind is in a receptive mood for the opportunities offered, and the advertisement, we believe, is much more effective as a result of this.

I have your interesting letter of August 23d, and regret to say I can throw no definite information on the point you raise, as I have never been able to check up the pulling quality of advertising next to reading matter. My opinion, and it is only an opinion, is that it does not matter where the advertisement is. Personally, I would rather have it away from reading matter, if it is so set up, or in such a position as to attract the attention of the reader.

I am further of the opinion that when the mind is engaged in following the thought conveyed by the type pages, the force of the advertising appeal is weakened when it is next to reading matter, for the mind is diverted from the idea of the letterpress to the foreign idea of the advertisement.

The segregation of advertisements, as in the magazines, has become a tradition. People know where to find the printed appeal to buy, Buy, *Buy*; and prepare an elastic mind ready to absorb. Folks examine an advertising section of a magazine as they would look for the title-page of a book or the index thereof.

The following extracts are from the fifty-four letters from agencies expressing the opinion that space next to reading matter is more valuable than space in the segregated advertising sections.

Everything after all comes back to a matter of opinion. I have worked with advertisers for twenty years, and I have found that, without exception, all advertisers have a predilection for position next to reading and for other preferred positions such as back cover, first page facing reading, or top of column next reading in newspapers. Whether this is a tradition handed down, or whether it is a hunch based upon some actual scientific facts, I do not know.

My own personal opinion is that an advertisement next to reading is enhanced, not so much by the interest of the reader in the reading matter, but by the display given to contrast between the advertisement and the uniform gray of straight matter.

It is easy enough to hazard the opinion which is almost axiomatic in the advertising business—that positions next to read-

ing matter are more valuable than other positions, and my instinctive feeling is that in the majority of cases this is true.

In reply to your recent letter addressed to a member of our staff on the question, whether advertisements placed in magazines next to reading matter enjoy preferred position, that is, are more valuable to advertisers viewed from the point of results, we wish on the strength of experience of years, to answer affirmatively. Such positions are undoubtedly preferable to those of ads massed at the two ends of a magazine.

We ourselves have not collected data on this subject, but from cases where we had occasion to learn of advertisers' experience, we have found that ads with preferred position have always brought not only better results, but were of immediate action.

Logically this stands to reason, for magazines are not bought primarily for the advertising they contain, but for the reading matter they contain. The reader's first attention goes to the articles, essays and stories, and then if he is not tired out, he begins to look to the ads. If, however, an ad is next to reading matter, it attracts the reader's attention at once. It actually forces itself upon the reader.

The following extracts are from the ninety-nine letters from advertisers who present neither facts nor opinions as evidence for either side of the controversy.

I have no evidence that advertising next to reading matter is of greater value to the advertiser than advertising space massed at the two ends of the magazines. The tendency of standard magazines to alter their forms so as to place more advertisements next to reading, seems to point to the fact that it is easier to sell space next to reading matter than it is among solid advertising.

We have no facts to present with regard to the general problem because any conclusions we have reached in this regard have proven themselves to be fallacious in some way.

A study of these seven hundred and seventy-six replies leaves one with certain very definite convictions:

First: For certain classes of goods and under certain

conditions there is a clear difference in the value of space in segregated advertising sections and space next to reading matter. For schools, books, railroads, resorts, and investments, space in segregated sections is more valuable than space next to reading matter. Space next to reading matter is more valuable than space in the segregated advertising sections for advertisements of silk if the advertisement is placed next to an article on dresses or internal household decorations; for advertisements of seeds if placed next to an article on gardening; for advertisements of almost any class of goods if placed next to an article dealing with the use of the goods advertised.

Second: Space in some standard magazines is more valuable than space in certain flat magazines for almost any class of goods; but space in some flat magazines is more valuable than space in certain standard magazines for almost any class of advertising.

Third: The conflicting evidence in the data and in the opinions presented by the experts, and the absence of conviction on the part of so many of them, make it evident that segregated *vs.* next to reading matter is not the controlling factor in value of advertising space. The quantity and quality of the circulation, the responsiveness developed in the readers, and other contributing factors, must be considered in each instance before any definite conclusion can be reached as to the value of advertising space in any particular magazine.

XXV

PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT

THE introduction of the experimental method is a modern innovation in the case of all the sciences. Occasional experiments had been made in each of the sciences before experimental laboratories were established, but with the founding of laboratories for experimental purposes, physics, chemistry, geology, physiology, and botany became established on a new and firmer basis.

Occasional and haphazard experiments had been made in psychology ever since the days of Aristotle, but no systematic attempt had been made to apply experimental methods to psychology till 1880. At this date Professor Wundt, of Leipzig, established the first psychological laboratory. Since that date similar laboratories have been established in all the leading universities of the world.

To avoid error as to the conception of the function of a psychological laboratory, it should be held firmly in mind that psychological laboratories have nothing to do with telepathy, spiritism, clairvoyance, animal magnetism, mesmerism, fortune-telling, crystal-gazing, palmistry, astrology, witchcraft, or with any other of the relics of the cults of medieval superstition. It is true that the question of occult thought transference in its various forms has been put to the test in a few of the laboratories, but as none of these superstitions have been

able to stand the test they have been discarded as worthless hypotheses. Quite extensive and elaborate tests have been made with telepathy, but as the results secured were so meager, it is safe to say that there is not a director of any psychological laboratory in Germany or America (most of the laboratories are in these two countries) who has any faith in it.

In frequent association with the cults mentioned above are certain other phenomena which have proven themselves to be worthy of consideration and which do occupy a place in a laboratory. Among such phenomena are hypnotism and what might be classed as prodigies or "freaks." To-day no one doubts the existence of hypnotism, but it is understood as something so different from what it was formerly supposed to be that it is robbed of its mysterious and uncanny connections. A mathematical prodigy is not regarded as an individual who holds relationship with an evil spirit, but as a person abnormally developed in a particular direction. Hypnotism and prodigies play such a subordinate part in the workings of a laboratory that it would not be worth while to mention them at all if it were not for the fact that they are so frequently associated with the theories which were mentioned above and which can show no good reason for their existence.

Psychological experiments are most frequently carried on in laboratories especially constructed for this purpose. The laboratory for some experiments may be merely a convenient place for meeting and a place free from undesirable disturbances, or it may be rooms fitted up with the most elaborate sort of instruments needed. In experiments in which the element of time enters, instruments are employed which record one one-thousandth of a second with the greatest accuracy.

The nature of the experiment determines the kind of apparatus needed, the number of persons who should take part, the method to be pursued, and the place to be chosen. Great ingenuity has been shown in constructing apparatus, devising methods, and controlling the conditions of experiments. The experiment may be simple and call for almost no equipment, or it may be intricate and call for years of investigation and an enormous expenditure of money to create the necessary conditions for its successful investigation.

In general a psychological experiment is a psychological observation made under "standard conditions." Standard conditions are those which may be repeated and that are of such a nature that the various conditions are under the control of the experimenter. This makes it possible for one investigator to perform an experiment and to have his work verified by others or to show wherein the first experimenter has erred. Standard conditions are ordinarily of such a nature that they may be varied, that non-essential and confusing conditions may be eliminated, the various causes investigated one by one, and the real causes given and the object of the experiment explained.

The nature of a psychological experiment (the kinds of problems that may be attacked, the method of investigation, the kind of results secured, and the treatment of the result) can be understood better by giving a concrete example than by any complete description. The following example is given because it is one that is of special significance to the readers of these pages and because it is so simple that it can be fully described in few words.

The general passenger agent of one of the leading railroad systems was constructing a new time-table for the

entire system. A dispute arose as to which of two faces of the same kinds of type could be the more easily read.

I.—This is the Style of Type used in Exhibits C and F, and is taken from Exhibit F.

8 40	4 15	3 05	arr	live	arr	live	11 23 30	10 05	11 40	8 40	12 55	9 25	3 85	5 30
8 48	3 17	3 09	arr	live	arr	live	12 28	9 55	11 30	8 25	12 45	9 15	3 17	5 00
8 56	3 28	3 16	arr	live	arr	live	12 35	10 02	11 35	8 35	12 50	9 20	3 05	4 45
8 64	3 39	3 27	arr	live	arr	live	12 42	10 09	11 42	8 42	12 57	9 27	3 14	4 55
8 72	3 50	3 38	arr	live	arr	live	12 49	10 16	11 49	8 49	13 04	9 34	3 22	5 05
8 80	4 01	3 49	arr	live	arr	live	12 56	10 23	11 56	8 56	13 11	9 41	3 30	5 15
8 88	4 12	3 60	arr	live	arr	live	13 03	10 30	12 03	9 03	13 18	9 48	3 37	5 25
8 96	4 23	3 71	arr	live	arr	live	13 10	10 37	12 10	9 10	13 25	9 55	3 45	5 35
8 104	4 34	3 82	arr	live	arr	live	13 17	10 44	12 17	9 17	13 32	10 02	3 52	5 45
8 112	4 45	3 93	arr	live	arr	live	13 24	10 51	12 24	9 24	13 39	10 09	4 00	5 55
8 120	4 56	4 04	arr	live	arr	live	13 31	10 58	12 31	9 31	13 46	10 16	4 07	6 05
8 128	5 07	4 15	arr	live	arr	live	13 38	11 05	12 38	9 38	13 53	10 23	4 14	6 15
8 136	5 18	4 26	arr	live	arr	live	13 45	11 12	12 45	9 45	14 00	10 30	4 21	6 25
8 144	5 29	4 37	arr	live	arr	live	13 52	11 19	12 52	9 52	14 07	10 37	4 28	6 35
8 152	5 40	4 48	arr	live	arr	live	13 59	11 26	13 04	10 04	14 14	10 44	4 35	6 45
8 160	5 51	4 59	arr	live	arr	live	14 06	11 33	13 11	10 11	14 21	10 51	4 42	6 55
8 168	6 02	5 10	arr	live	arr	live	14 13	11 40	13 18	10 18	14 28	10 58	4 49	7 05
8 176	6 13	5 21	arr	live	arr	live	14 20	11 47	13 25	10 25	14 35	11 05	4 56	7 15
8 184	6 24	5 32	arr	live	arr	live	14 27	11 54	13 32	10 32	14 42	11 12	5 03	7 25
8 192	6 35	5 43	arr	live	arr	live	14 34	12 01	13 39	10 39	14 49	11 19	5 10	7 35
8 200	6 46	5 54	arr	live	arr	live	14 41	12 08	13 46	10 46	14 56	11 26	5 17	7 45
8 208	6 57	6 05	arr	live	arr	live	14 48	12 15	13 53	10 53	15 03	11 33	5 24	7 55
8 216	7 08	6 16	arr	live	arr	live	14 55	12 22	14 00	11 00	15 10	11 40	5 31	8 05
8 224	7 19	6 27	arr	live	arr	live	15 02	12 29	14 07	11 07	15 17	11 47	5 38	8 15
8 232	7 30	6 38	arr	live	arr	live	15 09	12 36	14 14	11 14	15 24	11 54	5 45	8 25
8 240	7 41	6 49	arr	live	arr	live	15 16	12 43	14 21	11 21	15 31	12 01	5 52	8 35
8 248	7 52	6 60	arr	live	arr	live	15 23	12 50	14 28	11 28	15 38	12 08	5 59	8 45
8 256	8 03	6 71	arr	live	arr	live	15 30	12 57	14 35	11 35	15 45	12 15	6 06	8 55
8 264	8 14	6 82	arr	live	arr	live	15 37	13 04	14 42	11 42	15 52	12 22	6 13	9 05
8 272	8 25	6 93	arr	live	arr	live	15 44	13 11	14 49	11 49	16 00	12 30	6 20	9 15
8 280	8 36	7 04	arr	live	arr	live	15 51	13 18	14 56	11 56	16 07	12 37	6 27	9 25
8 288	8 47	7 15	arr	live	arr	live	15 58	13 25	15 03	12 03	16 14	12 44	6 34	9 35
8 296	8 58	7 26	arr	live	arr	live	16 05	13 32	15 10	12 10	16 21	12 51	6 41	9 45
8 304	9 09	7 37	arr	live	arr	live	16 12	13 39	15 17	12 17	16 28	12 58	6 48	9 55
8 312	9 20	7 48	arr	live	arr	live	16 19	13 46	15 24	12 24	16 35	13 05	6 55	10 05
8 320	9 31	7 59	arr	live	arr	live	16 26	13 53	15 31	12 31	16 42	13 12	7 02	10 15
8 328	9 42	8 10	arr	live	arr	live	16 33	14 00	15 38	12 38	16 49	13 19	7 09	10 25
8 336	9 53	8 21	arr	live	arr	live	16 40	14 07	15 45	12 45	16 56	13 26	7 16	10 35
8 344	10 04	8 32	arr	live	arr	live	16 47	14 14	15 52	12 52	17 03	13 33	7 23	10 45
8 352	10 15	8 43	arr	live	arr	live	16 54	14 21	16 00	13 00	17 10	13 40	7 30	10 55
8 360	10 26	8 54	arr	live	arr	live	17 01	14 28	16 07	13 07	17 17	13 47	7 37	11 05
8 368	10 37	9 05	arr	live	arr	live	17 08	14 35	16 14	13 14	17 24	13 54	7 44	11 15
8 376	10 48	9 16	arr	live	arr	live	17 15	14 42	16 21	13 21	17 31	14 01	7 51	11 25
8 384	10 59	9 27	arr	live	arr	live	17 22	14 49	16 28	13 28	17 38	14 08	7 58	11 35
8 392	11 10	9 38	arr	live	arr	live	17 29	14 56	16 35	13 35	17 45	14 15	8 05	11 45
8 400	11 21	9 49	arr	live	arr	live	17 36	15 03	16 42	13 42	17 52	14 22	8 12	11 55
8 408	11 32	10 00	arr	live	arr	live	17 43	15 10	16 49	13 49	17 59	14 29	8 19	12 05
8 416	11 43	10 11	arr	live	arr	live	17 50	15 17	16 56	13 56	18 06	14 36	8 26	12 15
8 424	11 54	10 22	arr	live	arr	live	17 57	15 24	17 03	14 03	18 13	14 43	8 33	12 25
8 432	12 05	10 33	arr	live	arr	live	18 04	15 31	17 10	14 10	18 20	14 50	8 40	12 35
8 440	12 16	10 44	arr	live	arr	live	18 11	15 38	17 17	14 17	18 27	14 57	8 47	12 45
8 448	12 27	10 55	arr	live	arr	live	18 18	15 45	17 24	14 24	18 34	15 04	8 54	12 55
8 456	12 38	11 06	arr	live	arr	live	18 25	15 52	17 31	14 31	18 41	15 11	9 01	13 05
8 464	12 49	11 17	arr	live	arr	live	18 32	15 59	17 38	14 38	18 48	15 18	9 08	13 15
8 472	12 60	11 28	arr	live	arr	live	18 39	16 06	17 45	14 45	18 55	15 25	9 15	13 25
8 480	12 71	11 39	arr	live	arr	live	18 46	16 13	17 52	14 52	19 02	15 32	9 22	13 35
8 488	12 82	11 50	arr	live	arr	live	18 53	16 20	18 00	15 00	19 09	15 39	9 29	13 45
8 496	12 93	12 01	arr	live	arr	live	19 00	16 27	18 07	15 07	19 16	15 46	9 36	13 55
8 504	12 104	12 12	arr	live	arr	live	19 07	16 34	18 14	15 14	19 23	15 53	9 43	14 05
8 512	12 115	12 23	arr	live	arr	live	19 14	16 41	18 21	15 21	19 30	16 00	9 50	14 15
8 520	12 126	12 34	arr	live	arr	live	19 21	16 48	18 28	15 28	19 37	16 07	9 57	14 25
8 528	12 137	12 45	arr	live	arr	live	19 28	16 55	18 35	15 35	19 44	16 14	10 04	14 35
8 536	12 148	12 56	arr	live	arr	live	19 35	17 02	18 42	15 42	19 51	16 21	10 11	14 45
8 544	12 159	13 07	arr	live	arr	live	19 42	17 09	18 49	15 49	19 58	16 28	10 18	14 55
8 552	12 170	13 18	arr	live	arr	live	19 49	17 16	18 56	15 56	20 05	16 35	10 25	15 05
8 560	12 181	13 29	arr	live	arr	live	19 56	17 23	19 03	16 03	20 12	16 42	10 32	15 15
8 568	12 192	13 40	arr	live	arr	live	20 03	17 30	19 10	16 10	20 19	16 49	10 39	15 25
8 576	12 203	13 51	arr	live	arr	live	20 10	17 37	19 17	16 17	20 26	16 56	10 46	15 35
8 584	12 214	14 02	arr	live	arr	live	20 17	17 44	19 24	16 24	20 33	17 03	10 53	15 45
8 592	12 225	14 13	arr	live	arr	live	20 24	17 51	19 31	16 31	20 40	17 10	11 00	15 55
8 600	12 236	14 24	arr	live	arr	live	20 31	17 58	19 38	16 38	20 47	17 17	11 07	16 05
8 608	12 247	14 35	arr	live	arr	live	20 38	18 05	19 45	16 45	20 54	17 24	11 14	16 15
8 616	12 258	14 46	arr	live	arr	live	20 45	18 12	19 52	16 52	21 01	17 31	11 21	16 25
8 624	12 269	14 57	arr	live	arr	live	20 52	18 19	20 00	17 00	21 08	17 38	11 28	16 35
8 632	12 280	15 08	arr	live	arr	live	20 59	18 26	20 07	17 07	21 15	17 45	11 35	16 45
8 640	12 291	15 19	arr	live	arr	live	21 06	18 33	20 14	17 14	21 22	17 52	11 42	16 55
8 648	12 302	15 30	arr	live	arr	live	21 13	18 40	20 21	17 21	21 29	18 00	11 49	17 05
8 656	12 313	15 41	arr	live	arr	live	21 20	18 47	20 28	17 28	21 36	18 07	11 56	17 15
8 664	12 324	15 52	arr	live	arr	live	21 27	18 54	20 35	17 35	21 43	18 14	12 03	17 25
8 672	12 335	16 03	arr	live	arr	live	21 34	19 01	20 42	17 42	21 50	18 21	12 10	17 35
8 680	12 346	16 14	arr	live	arr	live	21 41	19 08	20 49	17 49	21 57	18 28	12 17	17 45
8 688	12 357	16 25	arr	live	arr	live	21 48	19 15	20 56	17 56	22 04	18 35	12 24	17 55
8 696	12 368	16 36	arr	live	arr	live	21 55	19 22	21 03	18 03	22 11	18 42	12 31	18 05
8 704	12 379	16 47	arr	live	arr	live	22 02	19 29	21 10	18 10	22 18	18 49	12 38	18 15
8 712	12 390	16 58	arr	live	arr	live	22 09	19 36	21 17	18 17	22 25	18 56	12 45	18 25
8 720	12 401	17 09	arr	live	arr	live	22 16	19 43	21 24	18 24	22 32	19 03	12 52	18 35
8 728	12 412	17 20	arr	live	arr	live	22 23	19 50	21 31	18 31	22 39	19 10	12 59	18 45
8 736	12 423	17 31	arr	live	arr	live	22 30	19 57	21 38	18 38	22 46	19 17	13 06	18 55
8 744	12													

of type looked larger, that it used more ink, and that the figures could therefore be more easily read. It was impossible to decide which was the more legible without putting them to an authoritative test. For this purpose specimens of both styles were sent to the psychological laboratory of the Northwestern University, with the request that each style be tested as to its relative legibility.

The method adopted was to have pages taken from the time-table set up in both styles of type. A number of persons were then requested to read the pages as fast as possible. The manner of reading was the same as that ordinarily employed by the traveling public with the exception that the reading was done aloud and that the entire page was read instead of a part of it. I conducted all experiments, was provided with duplicate sheets, recorded all errors, and took the exact time of reading with a stop watch.

Two full pages were taken from the time-table and each page was set up in both styles of type, thus making four sheets, of which two were set up with small-face type and two with large. Each sheet was marked with a letter, and the four sheets are indicated as Exhibit C, Exhibit D, Exhibit E, and Exhibit F, respectively.

Exhibits C and F have small-face type, as shown in Table I. Exhibits D and E have large-face type, as shown in Table II. The first four subjects are indicated by initial letters of their names, viz., R. C., N. Z., J. S., and D. W. The order in which the pages were read, the time required, and the number of errors made are indicated by the following table:

	C.	D.	E.	F.
R. C.	19' 26" (6 errors)	15' 48" (1 error)	15' 53" (2 errors)	17' 11" (0 errors)
N. Z.	21' 36" (17 errors)	22' 28" (19 errors)	18' 5" (13 errors)	21' 11" (27 errors)
J. S.	15' 31" (27 errors)	15' 30" (28 errors)	16' 11" (21 errors)	15' 3" (59 errors)
D. W.	20' 10" (9 errors)	18' 39" (7 errors)	22' 56" (13 errors)	20' 3" (17 errors)

Total time for four persons to read small face type	150' 12"
Total time for four persons to read large face type	145' 22"
Excess of time required for four persons to read small face type .	4' 40"
Per cent. of time lost by four persons in reading small face type .	3½
Total errors made by four persons reading small face type . . .	162
Total errors made by four persons reading large face type . . .	104
Excess of errors made by four persons in reading small face type	58
Per cent. of excess of errors in reading small face type	55½

The four persons who took part in the experiment as described above hardly knew what was expected of them and had had no experience in such work. (Special mention will be made of R. C. below.)

Two additional persons were tested and each read over the list of stations and tried reading parts of the pages before beginning the experiment. After this preliminary drill they read the sheets as described above, but read only the first half of each sheet.

The order in which the sheets were read, the time required, and the number of errors made are indicated in the following table. The persons are indicated by C. W. and E. S. respectively:

	C.	D.	E.	F.
C. W. {	.....	.....	.....	9' 58" (12 errors)
	.....	8' 34" (2 errors)	8' 52" (4 errors)	.....
	8' 51" (10 errors)	.....	.....	.....
E. S. {	.....	.....	6' 29" (7 errors)	.....
	5' 57" (6 errors)	.....	.....	6' 42" (7 errors)
	.....	5' 39" (6 errors)	.....	.....
Total time for two persons to read the small face type				
Total time for two persons to read the large face type				
Excess of time required to read the small face type				
Per cent. of time lost by using small face type				
Total number of errors made by two persons in reading small face type				
Total number of errors made by two persons in reading large face type				
Excess of errors made by two persons in reading small face type				
Per cent. of increase of errors by use of small face type				

Of the first four subjects R. C. is an employee in the general passenger department of the railroad for which the folder was being investigated. He was familiar with the names of the stations and was accustomed to reading this particular time-table. The first page which he read was one with the small type. The other subject who began with the small type was my brother (J. S.). He knew what the experiment was and was determined to read the page in less time than any of the others. He made very many mistakes, but read the first half of the first sheet (F) in six minutes and fifty-two seconds. None of the other four subjects even approximated such a speed or made so many mistakes—thirty-three. He found that he could not maintain such a speed throughout the experiment. The two of the four subjects who began with the large-face type, namely, N. Z. and D. W., were entirely unfamiliar with the time-table and lost time in getting well under way. Under these circumstances it seems fair to regard the first page, which each of the first four read, as merely practice sheets and to eliminate them in the final results.

Eliminating the first sheet which each of the four first

subjects read, and uniting the results for all the six subjects, we get the following:

Total time for six persons to read small face type	147' 11"
Total time for six persons to read large face type	129' 42"
Excess of time required to read small face type	17' 29"
Per cent. of time lost by using small face type	13½
Total errors for six persons reading small face type	132
Total errors for six persons reading large face type	91
Excess of errors for small face type	41
Per cent. of increase of errors by use of small face type	45

These figures make it clear that the large-face type is easier to read and is not so subject to error as the small-face type.

It should be added that two of the six persons complained that the small type was hard on their eyes, and three thought that the small-face type was much harder to read than the large-face type.

The test with R. C. was made in the office of the president of the railroad concerned, and twice during the experiments R. C. was interrupted by persons calling at the door. The duplicate copy used with him was not accurate, and so the number of errors which he made in reading was not secured with certainty. With the other five persons tested no such interruptions occurred, and the number of errors made could be accurately recorded. These five were tested in quiet rooms, free from all distractions.

E. S. was able to read so rapidly that it was very difficult to record his errors. Possibly he made more errors than the figures show.

The figures given above are the results secured during the last ten days. Some weeks before sheets had been secured, printed in both styles of type—a page of one time-table set up in one style of type and a different page set up in the other style. The total number of trains in the two pages were almost identical, and the names

of the stations were apparently equally difficult to pronounce. So far as I could judge, the results secured with these pages were trustworthy, but to remove any possibility of doubt I had the pages prepared as described in the experiment above. The results secured in the two cases are in general the same. The experiment as described is therefore a verification of the first experiment. We thus have the results secured from twelve subjects instead of from six. The total result secured from the first six persons showed that the heavy type could be read $12\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. faster than the lighter-face type. The increase secured with the last six subjects was $13\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. These results are more uniform than might have been expected. Two of the twelve subjects read the small-face type faster than the large-face. As great a number of abnormal results as two out of twelve may ordinarily be expected. To overcome such errors a large number of persons should take part in the experiment and then in the general average single exceptions are less disturbing.

The marked contrast in the results secured from the two kinds of faces of the same size type is found in the number of errors which the readers made, the difference being forty-five per cent. or more. The errors were ordinarily in misreading the time. Frequently the time was connected with the wrong station. One person, for example, read that the train leaves Cream Ridge at 7.52, when in fact the train leaves there at 7.25 and leaves Chillicothe at 7.52. An error of that kind would cause the would-be passenger to miss his train. Mistaken pronunciation and similar minor mistakes were not recorded as errors.

When it is taken into consideration that time-tables are used as sources of information as to the times of

trains, and when it is discovered that the lighter-face type increases the chance of errors forty-five per cent. and increases the time necessary to read any part of the time-table thirteen per cent., it then becomes evident that such minor differences as that of the two faces here given are details which should be carefully considered. Those who construct time-tables try to get them up in such form that it will be easy and pleasant for the public to read them. The smaller-face type is harder to read, as is shown by the two facts of increase of time and increase of number of errors in reading it. The smaller-face type is also less pleasant reading than the heavier-face, as is shown by the fact that several of the persons complained that the small-face type was hard on their eyes. Time-tables are often read at night and by poor light. This fact makes it essential that the type should be of such a nature that it does not unnecessarily strain the eyes.

The results of this experiment are not of more importance to the advertising manager of a railroad than they are to other advertisers who are limited to the use of type for the exploiting of what they have to offer to the public. The easier and more pleasant the type is to read, the greater are the chances that it will be read and have the desired effect.

XXVI

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FOOD
ADVERTISING

THE *taste* of foods is partially a matter of sentiment and imagination. This is largely true of all foods, but is particularly applicable to foods as served by our modern chefs. Our rural ancestors were engaged long hours of the day in strenuous toil in the open air. For them eating was merely to relieve the pangs of hunger. Pork and beans would cause their mouths to "water," and would be a more tempting morsel to them than are the best-prepared dishes of our gastronomic artists to us. Times have changed. We have turned from a rural population living out of doors into an urban population of sedentary habits. This change is manifesting itself yearly in the alterations which are being wrought in our food consumption. The cruder, grosser, and unesthetic foods are finding fewer consumers, while those foods are finding a readier market which are more delicate in texture and more elegant and esthetic in appearance. The garniture of a food is becoming a more and more important factor in its consumption. The reproduced advertisement of Sunkist (No. 1) presents a good illustration of this principle.

The appetite of our modern urban population is much more a matter of sentiment and imagination than was that of our rural ancestors. We all think that we prefer turkey to pork because the *taste* of the turkey is

How Garnishing Improves Foods

"**THINK** of lemons and your mouth waters," is a phrase you have heard before.

Simply garnish your foods with lemons and you improve the flavor, even though the lemon is merely a decoration.

But add the juice from a slice of lemon to fish, cold meat, oysters, etc., and you not only make them taste, but digest better. And the art of the chef and the most famous home cook has to do with digestion as well as flavor.

Lemon is a useful garnish.

Don't think of garnishing as a merely pretty way to serve. Garnish the family meals because it means more attractive and more healthful food.

Send for free book, "Sunkist Recipes," illustrating and describing garnish designs, by Alice Bradley, principal of Miss Franks' School of Cookery, Boston.

Ask for

CALIFORNIA Sunkist

Uniformly Good Lemons

Best for garnishing because they are practically seedless, juicy, tart, and have bright, clean, waxy skins. All first-class dealers sell them.

California Fruit Growers Exchange

A San Diego, Co-operative Organization
of 10,000 Growers

Room 20, Los Angeles, California



No. 1.—Food depicted not as victuals but as a delicate morsel.

better than that of the pork. We should question the esthetic judgment of a man who would be so bold as to say that the taste of chicken is as good as that of quail. Even if I have such a cold in my head that I can smell nothing, I should greatly prefer maple sirup to sorghum molasses. It seems absurd that there should be any possibility of hesitation in choosing between these articles. The facts are that in each of these alternatives as to choice we are unable to distinguish the difference between the two by *taste* at all.

The "tasting game" has proved itself to be extremely interesting to both old and young. In this game portions of food are given to blindfolded subjects who are then asked to identify the food by eating it. In arranging for this game, the foods should be carefully prepared. The meats should be chopped fine and no seasoning or characteristic dressing of any sort should be used. If these conditions are observed, and if in no extraneous manner the name of the food is suggested, the blindfolded subjects will make the most astounding mistakes in trying to name the most ordinary articles of diet. The following are some of the mistakes which will actually occur: Strawberry sirup may be called peach sirup or sugar sirup. Beef broth may be called chicken broth. The liquid in which cabbage has been boiled may be said to be the liquid from turnips. Malt extract may be called yeast or ale. Veal broth may be called the broth of mutton, beef, or chicken. Raw potatoes chopped fine may be thought to be chopped acorns. White bread may be called whole-wheat bread. Boston brown bread may be called corn-meal cake. Beef, veal, pork, turkey, chicken, quail, and other meats will be confused in a most astounding manner.

This "tasting game" would be impossible if we really

discriminated between our articles of diet by the sense of taste.

We are at once led to inquire for the reasons why we choose one article of food and reject another if their tastes are so similar that we cannot tell them apart when our eyes are closed or blindfolded. Why do we prefer turkey to pork? Of course there are certain cuts of pork which do not resemble certain parts of turkey, but the question has to do only with those parts of turkey and pork which cannot be easily discriminated with closed eyes. The correct answer to the question is that we prefer turkey to pork because turkey is rarer than pork and because there is a certain atmosphere or halo thrown about turkey which is not possessed by pork. We are inclined to think of pork as "unclean," gross, and unesthetic. Turkey has enveloped itself in visions of feasts and banquets. It is associated with Thanksgiving and all the pleasant scenes connected therewith. We have seen pictures in which turkey was so garnished that it looked beautiful. Grossness and sensuousness naturally attach themselves to the unesthetic process of eating and to the unesthetic articles of food, but turkey associates itself with our most pleasing thoughts and does not stand out in all its nudity as dead fowl.

Again it may be asked, Why do we prefer quail to chicken? This can be answered in terms similar to those in which we explained the preference for turkey as compared with pork. Quail is rarer than chicken. Furthermore, the quail is associated in our minds with the pleasures of the chase, the open fields, pure air, the copse of woods, vigorous exercise, days spent in agreeable companionship and exhilarating sport. Our ancestors lived by the chase, and we seem to have inherited a fondness and even love for everything connected there-

with. It might also be added that quail is served in a more elegant form than chicken. The garnish is a large part of a quail, but chicken is likely to be served in its nudity. There is a delicacy and yet a plumpness about the quail which is not to be found in a chicken. It will be noticed that all these points of superiority of quail over chicken are independent of taste; yet they all have a part in determining our final judgment as to the *taste* of the meat.

The American people have been long years in creating this sentiment in favor of the turkey and the quail, but it is well established, and it will cause turkey and quail to be desired even when other meats equally good in taste are rejected.

The man who has foodstuffs to sell would be fortunate if he could get his commodity in a class with turkey and quail. Such a result would insure him constant sales at a profitable price. Just as we are willing to pay more for turkey and quail than we are for pork and chicken, so we would be willing to pay more for any article of food which could be presented to us in such an appetizing atmosphere as they are.

The questions which naturally arise in the mind of the advertiser are, Can I create such a sentiment in favor of my commodity that it will be seen enshrined in sentiment? Has a glamour ever been created for an article of merchandise by advertising? This last question must certainly be answered in the affirmative. If the advertisements of Ivory Soap (No. 2) have accomplished anything, it is this very thing. All of these advertisements have been of one class for a quarter of a century. They all bring out the one point of spotless elegance. These advertisements have created an atmosphere, and when I think of Ivory Soap, a halo

of spotless elegance envelops it, and I do not think of it merely as a prosaic chunk of fat and alkali. I have had this idea of spotless elegance so thoroughly associated with Ivory Soap by means of these many advertisements that I actually enjoy using Ivory Soap more than I should if the soap had not thus been advertised. The advertising of this soap not only induces me to buy



No. 2.—This advertisement assists in creating an atmosphere of spotless elegance about Ivory Soap.

it, but it influences me in my judgment of the soap after I have bought it.

Another advertising campaign which is to be likened to that of Ivory Soap is that of the Chickering Piano (No. 3). These advertisements, like those of Ivory Soap, often seem to say so little and at times it really seems that they squander their space by filling almost

the entire page with the illustration and by saying so little directly about their merchandise. They are alike in that the goods advertised are not thrust out into the foreground of the illustration. The Chickering Piano may, indeed, be the central part of the cut, but



No. 3.—This advertisement attempts to associate with the Chickering Piano an atmosphere of sumptuous elegance.

other articles of furniture, etc., are emphasized in a manner which seems to detract from the piano. Many advertisements of the Chickering Piano are evidently devised to represent the piano as an article of furniture in a home which is most sumptuously and tastefully furnished. We are left to draw the conclusion for ourselves that if persons with such elegant homes choose the Chickering it must be good enough for us. The

piano is set most artfully in this atmosphere of cultured refinement and elegance. Most pianos are advertised merely as *pianos*, and I can think of them as such, but I find that my thought of the Chickering is biased by this air of elegance which hovers over it.

It seems to me that the sentiment created in favor



No. 4.—This advertisement attempts to associate with Nabisco an atmosphere of romance and sentiment.

of Ivory Soap and Chickering Pianos is quite comparable to that which exists in favor of turkey and quail. So far as I am concerned, no advertiser of foodstuffs has quite equaled Ivory Soap and the Chickering Piano in creating a favorable sentiment or atmosphere in favor of his commodity. The firm which has come the nearest to it is the National Biscuit Company. Their adver-

tisements of Nabisco (No. 4) are most excellent in that they create an atmosphere which is exactly suited to the article advertised. Delicacy and purity, even bordering on the romantic and sentimental, are the qualities which we all feel as we look at the advertisements or read them. These advertisements have been so successful with me that when I eat a Nabisco I seem



**Land
o' Cakes**

"Land o' Cakes" is a name frequently given to Scotland where meal cakes form an important article of diet. The phrase was made famous by Robert Burns in 1794 in his poem *Ow Captain Corrie's Perambulations through Sutherland*, which commences with the following lines:

"Here, 'Land o' Cakes' an' aither Scott,
Frae Aberdeen to Johnny Corrie"

It may well be that some later poet will sing of America as the Land of Biscuit, for in the past five years the American people have consumed over three hundred million packages of

**Uneeda
Biscuit**

5¢

NATIONAL BISCUIT COMPANY

No. 5.—This advertisement attempts to associate with a soda-cracker an atmosphere of patriotism.

to get a sentimental or romantic taste out of it. If while in the dark I were given a new flavor of Nabisco, and if I did not know what it was, it would not taste so good as it would under normal conditions. I enjoy Nabisco wafers more because of these advertisements than I should if I had not seen them. Sentiment is not easily or quickly engendered, but if this style of advertising is continued I anticipate that Nabisco sugar

wafers will taste better and better with each succeeding appearance of a good advertisement.

A soda-cracker is one of the most prosaic things imaginable, and nothing kills the flavor of an article of diet more than this feeling of the commonplace and



No. 6.—An over-crowded advertisement; the promiscuous abundance kills the appetite for food.

the lack of poetical or esthetic sentiment. The National Biscuit Company is undertaking a big task when it attempts to weave poetical associations about Uneeda Biscuit (No. 5). The attempts thus far have been but half-hearted and infrequent. The reproduced illustration shown herewith (No. 5) is a very good attempt to give the Uneeda Biscuit a connection with man's

higher nature. If the firm is able to create a sentimental setting, or to associate the soda-cracker with something patriotic, or with something of that sort, it will add immensely to the "taste" of the commodity.

There are a few advertisers of food products who are trying to create an appetizing halo and to spread it over their goods, but in general, food advertisements are woefully weak at this point. If my appreciation of a soap or a piano can be increased by advertising, then most assuredly there is a great field for profitable endeavor for the advertiser of foodstuffs. Nothing is influenced by sentiment and imagination more than the sense of taste. Whether I like an article of food or not often depends upon what I think of the food before I taste it. Here is the advertiser's opportunity. He is able to influence me to buy the goods, and then his advertisements may make me like the taste of the goods after I have bought them. Whether his goods will be classed with "pork" or with "turkey" depends not only on the real taste of the foodstuff, but also upon the efficacy of the advertisements in creating the favorable atmosphere.

When we are pleased we are open to suggestions and are easily induced to act. When we are displeased, we become insensible to appeals, and are overcautious in our actions. One of the functions of the advertiser is to please the prospective customers and in every way possible to knit agreeable suggestions about the product offered for sale.

Most persons choose their foods wholly upon the standard of taste. They choose that which tastes good while they are eating it, and refuse that which is displeasing to the palate. The savory morsel is eaten without thought as to its chemical constituents.

Perhaps in no form of advertising is it so necessary to please the prospective customer as in food advertising. Pleasure stimulates the appetite, and pleasure is the standard of choice. The advertiser of food products should therefore present only the most pleasing suggestions, and he should depict his food product in the most appetizing manner possible.

It is true that certain foods are bought because of their medicinal properties, but such foods should be regarded as medicine rather than as food. The trend of our diet is not dependent upon any one thing. A careful study of the changed food fashions will discover many agencies at work, but among others will certainly be found the appearance of the foodstuff. The package, can, bag, basket, bottle, or whatever is used to encase the goods as sold and delivered, must be regarded as an integral part of the foodstuff, and as an efficient factor in determining whether the goods will be consumed in increasing or decreasing quantities. How much more appetizing are crackers packed in a box than the same crackers sold in bulk! Who will say how much is due to the form of the box in the enormous increase of crackers in America during the last few years! Would the American public ever have taken kindly to the cereal breakfast food if we had been compelled to buy it in the bulk?

The housewife purchases the provisions for the table. In her mind the package is intimately associated with the contents. She knows that a meal does not taste good unless the linen is spotless and the service more or less formal and ceremonious. The package in which the goods are delivered is as surely associated with the food as is the linen of the table and all the other articles of service. The modern housewife is insisting on a beau-

tiful dining-room, the best of linen and artistically decorated china. The glassware must be cut-glass and the silver of the most improved pattern. The table must be decorated and the individual dishes garnished. The housewife who is insisting on all these details is the one the merchant should have in mind when he is planning for the sale of his goods. She wants those articles of food which come in neat packages and which can be served in neat and elegant form. In her mind the appearance is an essential part of the taste, and she does not believe that a food can be appetizing unless it looks as if it were.

This same modern housewife predetermines her choice of foods by what she knows of them in advance. Her ideas may be molded by advertising, for this process is at work daily in all our homes. Like the housewives, we all form an idea of a food by the advertisements of it which we have seen, even if we have not read them. If the advertisement looks pleasing and if the food is there presented in an appetizing manner, we believe that the food itself will be all right and we are prejudiced in favor of it.

One thing that spoils the looks of food products is having them piled up in a confused mass. A table which contains many articles of food at once is not inviting to the epicure. We like to have our meals served in courses, and prefer many light courses rather than a few heavy ones. The same principle holds with advertisements. Many advertisements which would otherwise be strong are weakened by overcrowding of good things.

The reduced advertisement of Wheatlet (No. 6) as reproduced herewith is not appetizing, for the appearance of the whole thing is ruined by the multitude of

fruits which are thrown promiscuously into the illustration. I think I might like Wheatlet if it were served with any *one of these fruits*, but if it should be presented in such a confusion as this it would not be eaten at all.

The method which the housekeepers of the land em-



No. 7.—A simplification of the Wheatlet border. It familiarizes the public with the appearance of the package.

ploy in purchasing foods must be a factor in determining the appropriate form of advertising. In some instances householders make written lists of the goods desired; the order is placed without looking at the goods at all. In other instances the order is sent by telephone or by a messenger. In perhaps the most cases the purchaser enters the grocery store in person. She has her list of purchases but imperfectly made out.

As she enters the store she is confronted by rows and tiers of bottles, cans, and boxes. Out of this bewildering multitude of packages she is pleased to see certain ones which are known to her. These familiar packages catch her attention more than the scores of unknown ones. The known ones are the packages which she is most likely to purchase, as they catch her attention just at the time she is trying to recall the things of which she may be in need.

Of the two advertisements (Wheatlet and Egg-o-See), the last-mentioned emphasizes the appearance of the package, while the advertisement of Wheatlet omits the presentation of the package. At the moment of making the purchases for the week these two commodities might be on the shelf before the purchaser. The reproduced advertisement of Egg-o-See is such that it has made her familiar with the package as it appears on the shelves and it would thus be called to her attention at the critical moment. The advertisement of Wheatlet is not such as would have assisted in familiarizing her with the appearance of the package, and thus it does not assist in attracting her eye to the goods advertised at the moment of decision. While in the grocery store the purchaser does not taste the various articles, but tier upon tier of different goods are presented to her sense of sight. It is by sight that she recognizes the various packages, and an advertising campaign that familiarizes the housekeepers of the nation with the distinguishing appearance of any particular package has done much to increase its sale.

While the public is being made familiar with the food or the food container, a pleasing appeal should also be made to the esthetic nature of the possible customers.

The human race is carnivorous, but it does not like

to be reminded of the fact. It is disgusting to think of eating the flesh of dead cows, hogs, and sheep. We refuse to use the terms "cow-flesh," "hog-flesh," and "sheep-flesh." Our abhorrence of such ideas is registered in our language, and so we use the terms "beef," "pork," and "mutton." It is not pleasing to think of eating the flesh of the smaller animals and of fowls, still it is not so abhorrent as the thought of eating the flesh of the larger and domestic animals. Accordingly we still use the same word to denote the live animal and the flesh in such instances as "rabbit," "squirrel," "chicken," "goose," etc.

It is quite conceivable that the sight of a dead carcass would whet the appetite of a hyena. The sight of a fat pig might cause the mouth of a wolf to "water." The sight of an animal, whether dead or alive, is not very appetizing to the civilized man or woman. We know that beef is nothing but the flesh of dead cattle, but we refuse to entertain the idea at mealtime. Indeed, we have become so cultured that we like to have our meats garnished till they cease to have the appearance of flesh at all. There are whole nations which refuse to eat meat, and vegetarianism in our own country is but an indication of the revolt of the human mind against our carnivorous habits.

As a nation our wealth is increasing rapidly and consequently we are better able to purchase meats now than fifty years ago, yet the government statistics show a great decrease *per capita* in the consumption of meats. We have changed from a rural to an urban population and hence require less meat foods, and what we do eat must always be presented in a pleasing manner and in a way which jars as little as possible against our refined and cultivated natures.

In advertising meats, the fact should never be emphasized that the meat is the flesh of an animal. That point should be taken for granted and passed over as lightly as possible. Certain advertisers have not taken this matter into consideration and press to the front the fact that their meats are the flesh of animals. Thus the reproduced advertisement of Liebig (No. 8) is given up to the emphasizing of the point that this extract is



No. 8.—This advertisement makes no one hungry for extract of beef.

secured from the carcasses of beautiful steers. This advertisement makes no one hungry for Liebig Company's extract of beef. The advertisement is intended to make the public familiar with the Liebig trademark, and the criticism is therefore directed against the choice of such a trademark rather than against this special advertisement, which is but a presentation of the trademark. The reproduced advertisement of Armour & Co. (No. 9) does not present an animal in its entirety, but it represents too much of it. The carcasses as shown in the advertisement are too large to tempt our appetites and the general effect is rather disgusting. If

smaller pieces of meat had been shown, the result would have been entirely different.

The reproduced advertisement of Armour's potted ham and ox tongue (No. 10) is perhaps one of the most

Association of Ideas

A Lesson in Memory Training





By what Chain of Ideas
 Would you link together
 these four mental pictures?

ARMOUR'S—BEEF—EXTRACT—POTTED
 IN ENGLAND



And by what Mental Images
 would you fasten in your mind the following three ideas?

- (1) 'Fame cattle—of selected breed—raised on rich farm lands—not running wild on the South American pampas.
- (2) 'Extract made on the highest and most modern scientific principles.
- (3) Best Extract of the Best Beef.

ARMOUR'S Extract of Beef
 is not only especially useful for Soups, Sauces, Gravies, and Beef Tea, but innumerable other simple and costly dishes. This is No. 20 in "Delicious Dishes," a Booklet circulating over 100 re-prints, which we will send FREE if you write to Dept. 4.

SCALLOPED FISH.
 Samples of any cold fish; salt; pepper; bread-crumbs; butter; season; Armour's Extract of Beef; mixing.
 Flake the fish and carefully remove any bones or skin. Squish out some soup; take a gr. mustard, or a few peas of fish, with butter; drain it well with crumbs. Sprinkle with a layer of fish and a few more bread-crumbs, then pour over a little of the butter, season with salt and pepper. Repeat until the dish or shell is full, then melt the Extract in a jug drop of hot water and brush over the top with it. Finish with bread-crumbs and a little more butter. Bake in good oven a nice golden brown, and serve in the shell or dish.

ARMOUR & CO., 46a, Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.

No. 9.—This advertisement associates Armour's meat with the carcasses of dead animals.

pleasing advertisements of meats that has appeared in our magazines. No one can look at the advertisement without being impressed with the desirability of these products. The meat is presented in small pieces and is garnished till it is hardly recognizable. Such an

advertisement creates a demand for the goods and prejudices the customers in their favor, and the ham and ox tongue will taste better to the customer after he has seen this advertisement. This would be a better adver-



No. 10.—This advertisement increases the appetite for Armour's meat.

tisement for Armour & Co. if the can were shown in which this meat had been purchased. The border might include a cut of the container and the total effect be rendered none the less artistic.

We not only object to thinking of ourselves as car-

nivorous but we object to having animals connected in any way with our foods. The reproduced advertisement of White Star Coffee (No. 11) is in every way disgusting. Frogs are inherently uncanny to most persons, and to see them here as the representatives of a particular



No. 11.—A slimy frog associated with White Star Coffee kills the desire for coffee.



No. 12.—He seems to like it and I imagine that it is excellent.

brand of coffee serves but to instil a dislike and even abhorrence for the product. This advertisement never made any one eager for a cup of coffee. It does not create a demand for coffee and in the cases where the demand already exists it does not convince the casual observer that White Star Coffee is particularly desirable. It is one of the most silly and destructive adver-

tisements appearing in our current magazines. The other reproduced advertisement of the same brand of coffee (No. 12) is in no way objectionable and is a great improvement in point of display over the first one.

Ordinarily we feed the animals what we do not care to eat ourselves, and the assumption is that that which



No. 13.—An example of waste in advertising.

is good enough for the beasts is not fit for men and women. In the reproduced advertisement of Korn Krisp (No. 13) the food is represented as being fed to the fowls. The assumption would be that it is a food especially adapted to their taste, and I should not want to eat it myself. Even the young goose seems to be disgorging the food for some unexplained reason! Here

we have evidence of an amateur advertiser who was enamoured with his play on the words, "it fills the bill," and who was willing to pay for the exploitation of his joke under the pretense of an advertisement.

It may be possible that under very exceptional circumstances it would be advisable to introduce an animal in an advertisement of a food product, but it should be done only with great caution and with full realization of the dangers incurred because of the inevitable association between the animal and the food advertised.

The advertiser must seek to associate his food only with purity and elegance. In a sense the advertisement is the representative of the food, and if the advertisement is associated with disgusting or displeasing objects the food is the loser thereby. The advertising pages of many of our cheaper periodicals are nothing better than chambers of horrors. The afflictions of mankind are here depicted in an exaggerated form. The paper is poor, the ink is the cheapest, and the make-up is without taste. They are altogether a gruesome sight. Food advertisements in such papers are practically worthless. Even in these papers a few food advertisements are found, but, unfortunately, there are only a few. In these cheaper forms of publications the majority of advertisements are likely to be of patent medicines or of forms of investments. The medicines are advertised by depicting the unwholesome aspects of life, and the investments are usually of a questionable sort. These advertisements of patent medicines and investment schemes make the readers suspicious and hence they are in a condition of mind which leads them to suspect the foods advertised as being adulterated and impure.

Even good daily papers are open to this criticism. No. 14 is a reproduction of a section of one of the best

American dailies. The food advertisements are here associated with "skin diseases," "asthma," "consumption," "blood poison," "whirling spray douche," "pimples," "eruptions," "backaches," and other ills and un-

[illegible]

No. 14.—Food advertisements ruined by the make-up of the paper.

appetizing suggestions. What value is the advertisement of Malt Marrow and of Armour's Star Ham in such an environment? Until the daily papers have more to offer than such position as is indicated by No. 14 they certainly are not preferred media for food advertisers.

XXVII

THE LAWS OF PROGRESSIVE THINKING

IN acquiring simple acts of skill we all use in the main the "try, try again" method. This is technically known as the "trial and error" method. We simply keep trying till we happen to hit it right, and then we imitate our successes till finally the skill is acquired. The first correct response may have been reflex, instinctive, or merely accidental. When, however, we attempt to develop acts of skill or ideas in advance of our fellows this simple method of trial and error does not suffice. It is of course true that most of the actions of all of us and all the acts of many of us are not progressive in the sense here intended. By progressive thinking we mean the conception of new ideas, the invention of new methods of doing work, the construction of a new policy or a new instrument, or something of a kindred nature. For such thinking the essential mental process involves nothing totally different from ordinary thinking, but it involves the ordinary processes in a more complete and efficient form. The processes referred to are the following four: observation, classification, inference and application. The laws of progressive thinking are derived from these processes and are nothing more than a demand for the complete carrying out of these four processes. The thinking of the advertiser does not differ from that of others; and in what follows the discussion will be confined to the advertiser and his problems, inasmuch as such a concrete problem seems more definite than a general discussion.

Observation is logically the first step. All advertis-

ers have eyes, but they do not all use them equally well. Observation should begin at home. The advertiser should analyze his own response to advertisements, but unfortunately he is likely to become so prejudiced or hardened to advertisements that his own judgment must be taken with great caution. How does this advertisement or this part of the advertisement affect me? How does it affect my wife, my mother, my sister? How does it affect the persons who ride on the train with me or who pass by the billboards with me? This is the territory which is so near at home that we disregard it. Such observations must, of course, be supplemented by tests carried on by means of keying the advertisement, by consulting the sales department, etc.

None of us are ideal observers. We can't tell just how certain advertisements affect us or what element of the advertisement is the most effective. We do not observe accurately how advertisements affect those about us. We see only those things which we have learned to see or which have been pointed out to us. We are not skillful in discovering new methods of securing new data and so our observations are neither so accurate nor so extensive as they should be.

The advertiser has an extensive field of observation and but little direction as to the best method. He must observe his goods in order to know the possible qualities which may be presented with greatest force. He must observe the public to which he is to make his appeal. He must be a practical psychologist. He must also be an advertising expert according to the narrow and fallacious use of that term. In the past the advertiser has not been required to know his commodity or his public, but he has felt satisfied if he was an expert in the construction of advertisements, the choice of mediums, the

keying of advertisements, and similar strictly technical accomplishments. The observations are not complete unless they include these three fields, *i.e.*, the goods, the public, and the advertisements.

The second step in the method, logically speaking, is that of classification. The observations must be classified. The scattered data must be brought together before they can be utilized. Great skill is necessary to make the right classifications. In any large office care must be used in filing away material to see that the general heads are not only correct but that they are the most usable ones. Likewise in filing away our observations, in getting them into shape so that we can use them, the greatest care is necessary in choosing the right heads and in getting all the data under their appropriate general heads. All the data must be analyzed and classified and reclassified, for new observations require new classifications, so that the classification is never complete and the generalizations based on the classifications are continually increasing. For instance, every advertiser has a certain amount of data concerning the effectiveness of advertisements without illustrations in publications in which the text matter is largely illustrated. But how many advertisers have grouped this data and formed any general statement concerning it?

The process of classification involves that of analysis, and the difficulty of forming new analyses is much greater than would be supposed by those who have not studied the process. In order that new classifications may be made, the data must be worked over and thought of in all the possible relations. The man who makes the best use of his knowledge is the one who has it best analyzed and classified.

Advertisers have sent me two different advertisements which were carefully keyed, one of which was successful and the other one unsuccessful. In some cases the advertisements are very similar and the differences at first sight seem non-essential, yet the differences are great enough to secure success in one case and failure in another. Under some circumstances it might be practically impossible to deduce the cause of the differences. Recently an advertiser sent me two such advertisements. One had been unsuccessful and the other had been extremely successful. The illustrations were very similar and the arguments were largely identical throughout. The two had been run in the same sizes and in the same and also in different publications. It seemed quite evident that the difference must lie in the advertisements themselves and not in any extraneous matter.

I think that I was correct in inferring that the difference lay in the display of the illustration and text matter, but not in the quality of either of them. In the unsuccessful advertisement there was no resting-place for the eye and no point or line of orientation. (The line of orientation is the line which the eye follows in observing an illustration.) In the successful advertisement the eye rested naturally at the point from which the advertisement looked the most artistic and from which the content of the advertisement could best be understood. Furthermore, the line of orientation was such that the eye naturally followed the order which made the argument and display mutually strengthening, and so the eye rested, at the conclusion, at the point which was most inducive to immediate action. Any trained artist, or even any one who had studied the theory which underlies artistic productions, might

very naturally have looked for this resting-place for the eye or for the appropriate place for the line of orientation, but unless these features were taken into consideration the wrong conclusion would have been drawn as to the cause of success or failure in the case of these two advertisements.

The fourth step in the mental process of the progressive advertiser is that of applying the deductions drawn from the former experience. The laws concerning the force called electricity are known to thousands, but it takes an Edison or a Marconi to make a new application of these same laws. If Edison and Marconi had not a comprehensive grasp of these laws they would not be inventors. Others have as good a knowledge of all the phenomena connected with electricity as they and yet are unable to make a practical use of their knowledge. Science can formulate the laws of the phenomena as far as they have been discovered and applied, but it cannot lay down rules or suggest infallible methods for further discoveries and inventions. This does not minimize the value of science, but it emphasizes the need of originality and ingenuity in the man who strives to lead his profession and to invent new methods and to make new applications of those he has learned.

Certain keen students of advertising have prophesied but little benefit to advertising from the science of psychology, because a science cannot lay down rules for things which are not yet discovered. This criticism has weight with any who should be so foolish as to suppose that every accomplished student of the human mind would of necessity be a successful advertiser. To suppose that a great psychologist would of necessity be a successful innovator in advertising is just as sane as to suppose that every one who understands electricity

as well as Edison would have as great a record as he at the patent office. If Edison had known nothing of the science of physics, it is quite certain that he never would have been heard from. Science does not produce inventors, but it is of great assistance to a genius and may cause him to become a great discoverer. Psychology is of assistance to every advertiser in helping him to observe widely and accurately, in teaching him how to classify or group his observations systematically: it should help him in drawing the correct conclusions from his classified experience. If psychology could do no more it would be of inestimable value, but as applications or new discoveries depend so largely on the formation of correct deductions and hypotheses, psychology may even be of benefit in this last and most difficult step in the mental process of the innovator.

The most successful advertisers are those who observe most widely and accurately, who classify their observations and group them in the most usable form, who then think most keenly about these classified observations so as to draw the most helpful conclusions, and lastly who have the greatest ability in utilizing these deductions in their advertising campaigns. They are the active men, those who are seeking better methods of observation and of classification and who are never content with their past deductions or their applications. To show what I mean at this point I will illustrate from methods employed by one of the leading advertisers of America.

In observing the effect which advertisements produce upon a community it is much easier to learn which advertisements are effective than what it is in the particular advertisements which makes them interesting. **Mr. B.**, as an aid in making observations at this latter

point, secured several thousands of letters from readers of issues of the magazine of which he was the advertising manager. In these letters the writers told which advertisements they were the most interested in and what it was in each particular advertisement which interested them. Mr. B. could have turned to the pages of his magazine and have made a personal observation as to the way the different advertisements affected him and what it was in any particular advertisement which interested him most, but by the method described he multiplied his observations a thousand fold, and all within the commodity with which he has to deal. When he had read over the letters he had the data before him but it was in chaotic and worthless condition. The next step was to bring order out of chaos. It was easy to tabulate the results and find out how many were especially interested in each particular advertisement. But when it came to classifying the reasons—and often women's reasons at that—for being interested in each advertisement, the task proved itself to be one of great difficulty.

The data were turned over to me for such classification, and though this is not the place to give in full the general heads and the sub-heads under which the classification was finally made, it may be interesting to know that the reasons for advertisements proving interesting were in the order of their frequency: first, reliability; second, financial consideration; third, the construction of the advertisement; and fourth, the present need of the reader. Thus of the letters received one month, 607 affirmed that they were most interested in their chosen advertisement because they believed that the firm or the medium or the goods were strictly reliable. In some cases they had tried the goods adver-

tised; in some they had dealt with the firm; in some they noticed the testimonials or the prizes taken, etc. In the same month 508 were particularly interested because of money considerations. Some because they could get the goods advertised more cheaply than elsewhere; some because the advertisements offered a chance to get something for service instead of for cash, etc., etc. In the same month 418 were most interested in the construction of the advertisement. Some were most interested, for instance, in the Nestle's Food advertisement, because it was very artistic and was run in colors. In the same month 408 were most interested in a particular advertisement because it presented goods which they needed at that particular time. To recapitulate the results: 607 for reliability, 508 for money considerations, 418 for the construction of the advertisement, and 408 because of the present need.

~ It is not necessary to say that from the classifications of these data certain conclusions have been drawn and that attempts are being made to apply the conclusions to the planning of advertising campaigns. These experimental applications will furnish new data; these will in turn be classified, new conclusions deduced, and further attempts at practical application will follow. In this way we have an endless chain of observation, classification, inference, and application. This method is applicable not only to writing advertisements but to every detail of the profession. Indeed it is the method of progressive thinking in every line of human endeavor. The four steps are not fully differentiated in our actual experience, but are presented here as distinct for the sake of clearness.

XXVIII

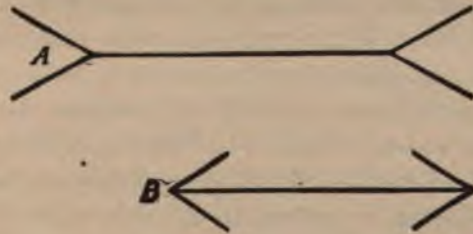
THE UNCONSCIOUS INFLUENCE IN
STREET RAILWAY ADVERTISING

EVERY form of advertising has its particular psychological effect, and the medium which the merchant should choose depends upon many conditions. Foremost among such conditions are expense, the class of persons to be reached, the quality of goods to be presented, the width of distribution of goods, etc., etc. Equal with these conditions, however, the advertiser should consider the peculiar psychological effect of each particular form. The monthly magazine, the weeklies and the dailies carry authority which is lacking in other forms. These publications are held in high repute in the household, and advertisements appearing in them are benefited by this confidence which is bestowed upon everything appearing in them. Posters, bill-boards, painted signs, and similar forms of advertising admit of extensive display within a prescribed area and have great attention value. Booklets, circulars, and similar forms of advertising admit of complete descriptions and may be put in the hands of only those who are interested in the commodity offered for sale. They appeal to the reason in a way not surpassed by any form of printed advertising.

The psychological effect of street-car advertising is not generally recognized, and in this presentation there is no attempt to praise one form of advertising and to

decry all others, but inasmuch as the psychological effects of other forms are recognized and that of street-car advertising is frequently not recognized, this latter is selected for fuller presentation.

Our minds are constantly subjected to influences of which we have no knowledge. We are led to form opinions and judgments by influences which we should reject if we were aware of them. After we have decided upon a certain line of action, we frequently attempt to justify ourselves in our own eyes, and so we discover certain logical reasons for our actions and assume them to have been the true cause, when in reality they had nothing to do with it. The importance of these undiscovered causes in our every-day thinking and acting may be illustrated by the following example.



Lines A and B are of equal length, although A seems longer. Now why do we reach the conclusion that A is longer than B, when in reality such is not the case? If they are the same length, and we see them in a clear light, we should expect that they would appear to be as they actually are. The accepted explanation of this illusion is that there are, entering into the judgment, certain imperceptible causes which make us see the lines as of different length. This explanation was not discov-

ered till recent years, but it has been proved to be correct. In judging the length of lines we run our eyes over them, and so get a sensation from the contraction of the muscles of the eyes. We judge of the length of lines by the amount of this sensation derived from contracting the muscles which move the eyes. If two lines are the same distance from us and are the same length, our eyes will ordinarily move equal distances in traversing their lengths. If two lines are equally distant from us, and one longer than the other, we ordinarily have to move our eyes farther in estimating the length of the longer one than in estimating the length of the shorter one. We are not aware of the sensations received from these movements of our eyes, and yet we estimate lengths of lines by them. The peculiar construction of the lines A and B induces the eye to move farther in estimating the length of A. We therefore assume that A is longer than B because our eyes move farther in estimating its length than in estimating the length of B.

The street-railway advertiser controls an unrecognized force which is similar to that just described in the estimation of the length of lines. The arrow pointing toward the line as shown in A causes us all to overestimate the magnitude of the line; and there is a factor present in street-railway advertising which causes us to be influenced by it more than would seem possible. There has been much poor street-railway advertising, and yet the results have been phenomenally great. Some recent tests of the extent to which passengers had been influenced by such advertising showed most conclusively that there was an unrecognized power in it. A study of the situation discloses the fact that this unconscious influence is none other than *TIME* which manifests itself in three phases as presented below.

As a result of investigations upon magazine and newspaper advertising the conclusion was reached that on the average only ten per cent. of the time devoted to newspapers and magazines was spent in looking at the advertisements. (For a fuller account of the investigation see Chapter XXIX.) As a conclusion deduced from these results it was recommended that advertisements should be so constructed that the gist of each could be comprehended at a glance, for most advertisements in newspapers and magazines receive no more than a glance from the average reader. The ordinary reader of newspapers and magazines *glances* at all of the advertising pages and sees all the *larger and more striking* advertisements. There are many exceptions to this. There are persons who read all the advertisements and there are others who glance at but few of them. Magazines and newspapers have become so numerous and the daily duties so pressing that we cannot take time to read all the advertisements, and so we devote but few minutes to them, and in those few minutes we see a great number. We cannot afford the time to do more.

The case is different with street-railway advertising. Here there is no shortage of time. There is sufficient opportunity to see every person in the car and to devote as much time to the process as good breeding will allow. Thereafter one is compelled to look at the floor or else above the heads of the passengers. One cannot read a newspaper on a crowded car—I am acquainted only with crowded cars. Neither is it practicable to read a book or magazine on a jolting car—I am acquainted only with such. To attempt to look out of a window opposite to you causes the lady opposite to wonder at your rudeness in staring at her, for to look out of the window the eyes are directed so nearly at the face of some passenger

that one's intentions are misjudged. In defence of one's good breeding and to drive away the weariness of the ride many a passenger is compelled to turn his gaze on the placards which adorn the sides of the car. The passenger has for once an abundance of time. He reads the card and then reads it again because he has nothing else to do. This may be very silly, but what of it? It offers a diversion, and anything is better than looking at the floor, counting the number of passengers, or watching the conductor ring up the fares.

The amount of time spent in riding on street-cars in America is far beyond the conception of most persons.

The electric railways of the United States carry about fourteen billion, five hundred million passengers annually. This does not include the electric divisions of certain steam roads which carry advertising. All cars carrying advertising in the United States carry about fifteen billion riders annually.

The population of the United States living in towns on or adjacent to electric railway systems is about forty-five million people. The percentage of passengers carried daily to the total population of these cities averages approximately one hundred per cent. There are no data available for the length of time consumed by an average street-car ride. Fifteen minutes may be regarded as a fair estimate. Upon this estimate each inhabitant of our cities spends on the average about fifteen minutes a day in a street car. These rides become very monotonous; the passengers' minds are not occupied, and very much more time is whiled away by looking at the advertisements than we are aware of.

One young lady asserted that she had never looked at any of the cards in the cars in which she had been riding for years. When questioned further, it appeared

that she knew by heart almost every advertisement appearing on the line (Chicago and Evanston line), and that the goods advertised had won her highest esteem. She was not aware of the fact that she had been studying the advertisements, and flatly resented the suggestion that she had been influenced by them. Some of the goods advertised were known to her only by these advertisements, yet she supposed that they had nothing to do with her esteem of the goods. She supposed that she had always known them, that they were used in her home, or that they had been recommended to her. She did not remember when she had first heard of them.

It has been said that we have learned nothing perfectly until we have forgotten how we learned it. This has a special application to advertising. An advertisement has not accomplished its mission till it has instructed the possible customer concerning the goods and then has caused him to forget where he received his instruction. This is especially important in street-car advertising. The information which we receive from the card in the street car soon becomes a part of us, and we forget where we received it.

This forgetfulness of the source of our information is due to the interval which has elapsed between the first time the advertisement was seen and the present. The more frequently the advertisement is seen, the more rapidly will the memory of the first appearance fade and leave us with the feeling that we have always known the goods advertised, and that the advertisement itself is no essential part of our information. [This point is more fully developed in Chapter XIV, Suggestion.]

The element of *time* as it enters the problem of advertising is recognized to a limited extent in the two phases thus far discussed, but there is another phase and one

of even more importance which has, to the writer's knowledge, never been mentioned in connection with advertising. We devote the most time to those subjects which we regard as the most important. My profession takes most of my thought, the lacing of my shoes very little. Ideas which impress me as important cause me to think of them for lengthy periods of time. Ideas which seem insignificant are dismissed immediately from my mind.

This element is recognized by every skillful public speaker. He speaks rapidly that which he wishes us to consider as of little importance. He speaks slowly that which he wishes us to regard as of special significance. We weigh the importance of his statements and estimate their value in terms of the time which he gives to each.

In poetry, thoughts which are trivial or of minor importance are expressed by rapid movements. Ideas which are of more importance and which are supposed to call forth much thought from the reader are expressed in slow movements. This same principle holds in music. Music which means much—which suggests many thoughts, which is sublime, deep, or large—all such music is written in slow time. The so-called “rag-time” is assumed to have no meaning; it is not supposed to suggest lines of thought. It has no intrinsic importance and is consequently appropriately expressed in fast time.

In the case of the orator, the poet, and the musician the effect is produced by this unrecognized element of time. That which holds our thought for a longer time seems to us to be important; that which we hurry over seems unimportant. The orator, the poet, and the musician have simply accommodated themselves to our intuitive method of thinking and have been successful because

they have conformed their expressions to the human method of thought.

As was shown above, the passengers on street railways have but little to distract their attention. They go over the same road so frequently that the streets passed through cease to be interesting. Since newspapers and magazines cannot be easily read, the cards have but few rivals for attention. Even those who have but little interest in the advertisements find that they glance at the cards frequently and that the eyes rest on a single card for a considerable length of time. The same card may be read or glanced at daily for as long a time as the card is left in the car. The sum total of the time thus devoted to the card is as great as the amount of time that we devote to many of our important interests. Under ordinary circumstances we bestow thought upon objects in proportion to their importance. This is not an absolute rule, of course, but it expresses a principle. The reverse of this principle is not recognized by us at all and yet it is of primal importance.

That which occupies our minds for a great amount of time assumes thereby an importance which may be out of all proportion to its real value. Illustrations of this fact are to be found on every hand. The mother is likely to think the most of the child which has caused her the most thought. "The sickly child occupies her mind more than the well one, and this accounts for the fact that she attributes to the sickly child an importance far beyond its real worth. Our old schoolbooks, upon which we were compelled to bestow so many hours of study, in later years assume a value in our eyes far in excess of their real merit. The goods which through their advertisements have occupied our minds for long periods of time assume in our minds an importance

which is often far in excess of anything which would have been anticipated by one who was not familiar with the peculiar power here described. In estimating the relative values of two competing lines of goods, I assume that my judgment is based on the goods themselves as they are presented to my reason. I am not aware of the fact that I am prejudiced in favor of the goods that have occupied my mind the longest periods of time. Yet it is as certain that this element of time has biased my judgment of the relative values of the goods as it is that the eye movement influences my judgment of the lengths of lines.

Advertisements in newspapers and magazines are seen by a great number of the readers, but the time devoted to any particular advertisement is very small, unless there is a special interest in the advertisement.

There is indeed no form of advertising which is presented to such a large number of possible purchasers for such a long period of time and so frequently as is the advertising in street-railway cars. In most other forms of advertising we devote to any particular advertisement only as much time as we think it is worth. In street-railway advertising we devote longer time than we really think is due to the advertisements, and then we turn around and estimate the value of the goods advertised by the amount of time that we have devoted to the advertisement. This is the psychological explanation of the amazing potency of this particular form of advertising.

XXIX

THE QUESTIONNAIRE METHOD IN
ADVERTISING

ILLUSTRATED BY AN INVESTIGATION UPON NEWSPAPERS

EXPERIENCE is the best teacher. Methods that enable one to make the greatest use of one's own experience are valuable. Methods that make the experiences of others also available are even more valuable.

One of the functions of every science is to develop methods that are useful for investigating problems which concern that particular science. One of the methods that modern psychology has developed is the so-called Questionnaire Method. This method has many defects, but it has the inestimable value of assisting the investigator to take advantage of the experiences of a great number of individuals.

The Questionnaire Method is used to secure the consensus and the diversity of many individual opinions. A single question or a set of questions is presented to any desired group of persons. The answers to the questions are derived from the experiences of those who are to answer them. If the questions call for the description of simple unemotional events, reliance may be put in the answers received from all sincere respondents. If the answers call for a difficult analysis of motives and interests, less reliance can be placed in any single answer and greater caution must be used in drawing conclusions based upon the replies.

There are many problems that the advertiser needs to investigate for which the Questionnaire Method alone is

available. A single illustration will indicate how such questions arise, how they may be investigated, and will also present a mass of information concerning newspapers that is of interest and profit to advertisers.

A prominent advertising man was planning copy to be used on street-car cards designed to secure new subscribers to newspapers. The campaign was to be conducted in different American cities in the interest of local papers, but in each case the attempt was to be made to reach the best citizens of the city. The two following questions naturally suggested themselves: *What is there in the modern newspaper that appeals to the better classes of society, and what motives should be appealed to in inducing them to begin a subscription?* The problems here raised are clearly psychological and subject to the Questionnaire Method, which was employed in investigating them.

A carefully selected list was prepared containing the names of four thousand of the most prominent business and professional men in Chicago. An attempt was made to include what could fairly be said to be the best citizens of Chicago. The number was so large that it contained a fully representative group. For the purpose of comparison, another list of one thousand names was prepared. This list contained the names of men from very different classes of society, but all, with few exceptions, were adult men. The questionnaire as reproduced herewith was mailed to the five thousand names constituting the two lists.

- I. What Chicago daily or dailies do you read?.....
- II. Which one do you prefer?.....
- III. State in order the five features of your paper which interest you most. (For example, politics, society, finance, sporting, foreign news, local news, special articles, ro-

mance and storiottes, cartoons, advertisements, art, music and book reviews, moral or ethical tone, editorials, brevity, accuracy, etc.)

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....

IV. Do you spend on an average as much as 15 minutes daily reading a Chicago paper?.....

V. What induced you to begin the subscription of the paper or papers which you are now taking?.....

VI. Were you ever induced by means of a premium or prize to subscribe for a Chicago paper?..... If so, did you resubscribe for the same paper without a premium?.....

.....

Answers to these questions are desired from the selected persons to whom they are mailed. The answers are needed in solving a psychological question of interest and may be placed in the stamped envelope enclosed herewith and mailed at once. They will be gratefully received by the sender.

Yours respectfully,

WALTER D. SCOTT,
*Director of the Psychological Laboratory,
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.*

Replies were received from about two thousand, three hundred of the representative business and professional men. The replies from the one thousand are disregarded in the present chapter; and inasmuch as but approximately two thousand answered each of the questions, the two thousand, three hundred are hereafter referred to as "the two thousand." Those receiving the questionnaire seemed much interested in the research, and although they are very busy men, the answers indicate careful deliberation and the utmost sincerity. Al-

though no place was provided for signatures, a good proportion signed their names to the paper or enclosed a personal, signed letter. A large number of the slips were carefully keyed, and even when no signature was attached, the author of the replies was known. In all the slips the key indicated at least to which one of the numerous groups the respondent belonged. In case of doubt as to whether the replies were filled out personally by the man to whom the questionnaire was sent, they were rejected as not authentic. No proxies were desired.

Over fifty per cent. of those receiving the questionnaire took pains to fill out the blank. This proportion is unusually large and is to be attributed to several causes. A stamped return envelope was enclosed. The subject under investigation was personally interesting. The answers were sought for as a means of "solving a psychological question," and psychology is very popular just at present. The investigator, owing to his university connection, was assumed to be honest and desirous of securing only the facts. The advertiser might have great difficulty in selecting a group of persons whose answers would be significant and yet who would be willing to fill out the blanks. Doubtless in many cases the list would have to be confined to business associates or to personal friends. Haphazard, voluntary answers received in competition for a prize or for the gaining of a paltry reward are not to be compared in value to voluntary replies from a carefully selected list. The difficulty of securing trustworthy replies is so great that the advertiser will usually be compelled to have the investigation carried on by a disinterested person, as it was done in the present instance.

Ordinarily no suggestions should be made as to what answer is expected. If any suggestions are made, that

fact should never be forgotten in estimating the results. In the questionnaire reproduced herewith, the amount of space left for answering the first question suggested that the names of but one or two papers were to be written. This doubtless affected the results. Also in connection with the third question a series of answers was suggested. The number of suggestions was made so large that no particular one would have much more effect than the others, and as all probable answers were suggested the results were certainly not greatly changed thereby.

The fact that each individual reads or scans a number of papers daily was brought out clearly by the answers to the first question. (I. What Chicago daily or dailies do you read?) Eighty-six per cent. reported themselves as reading more than a single paper. The space in the questionnaire left for writing the names of the papers read was but a little over one inch in length. In spite of this fact the respondents took pains to write in a number of papers. As stated above, it is quite probable that the inadequate space and, in some cases, the haste of writing the names caused an understatement of the actual number of papers read. As reported, the figures are as follows:

- 14% read but one paper
- 46% read two papers
- 21% read three papers
- 10% read four papers
- 3% read five papers
- 2% read six papers
- 3% read all the papers (8).

Some of the papers taken by any person are to be regarded as subsidiary and as commanding but little

attention. These subsidiary papers contain a large part of the advertisements that are also contained in the preferred papers, which command the most attention. The same advertisement seen in two or three papers may be more effective than if seen in but one; but most advertisers are convinced that it is not worth three times as much to have an advertisement seen in three papers as it is to have it seen in one. The duplication of circulation represents a loss. If the advertiser could pick out the papers that command the most confidence of a relatively large number of readers, he could afford to neglect the subsidiary papers entirely.

The fourth question was, (IV. Do you spend on an average as much as 15 minutes daily reading a Chicago paper?)

A decided majority seemed to consider fifteen minutes a fair estimate of the time spent in reading the daily papers. Four per cent. answered that they spent less than fifteen minutes daily. Twenty-five per cent. reported a greater amount of time. A few reported as much as two hours, but "just about fifteen minutes" was by far the most common answer. The writers were frequently careful to state that this fifteen minutes was the total time spent in reading all the papers and not the amount spent in reading each of the several papers read. Considering together the total number of papers read and the total amount of time spent in reading them, we reach the conclusion that a very decided majority of these representative business and professional men spend but approximately from five to ten minutes reading any particular paper. These few minutes admit of but the most cursory reading. A favorite program, as reported, is the reading of the head lines, the table of contents, the weather reports, etc. Then if time admits or if any-

thing especially interesting is discovered, attention may be turned for a few seconds or minutes to a more leisurely reading of the articles discovered in the preliminary search.

The papers are glanced through so hurriedly that an advertisement, in order to be seen at all, unless sought for, must be striking in appearance and must announce something in which the reader is particularly interested. Advertisements may be divided into two groups: classified and display advertisements. The classified are read only by those who search for them. The display advertisements are glanced at by a very large number of persons who pick up the paper. The advertisement must tell its story quickly if at all. If the message which it is capable of imparting to those who glance at it is inviting, the advertisement may be selected and read from beginning to end. The advertiser should attempt, however, to construct his advertisement so that a single glance at it may be effective in imparting information and in making an impression even though the advertisement is not to be under observation for more than a few seconds.

A majority of the respondents answered the second question, naming the preferred paper. (II. Which one do you prefer?) A very respectable minority, however, confessed that they had no preference. Many answered that one paper was preferred for general news, another for cartoons, another for special articles, another for moral tone, etc. Others refused to go on record as preferring any paper and so expressed themselves by saying that one paper was "less objectionable," "less yellow," "less venal," etc., than the others. Particular groups of men displayed considerable uniformity in their preference for a single paper; *e.g.*, the one hundred pro-

fessional men connected with one educational institution preferred one paper; the business men who were members of an athletic club showed a decided preference for another paper; the business and professional men who were members of one of the most prominent clubs preferred with equal uniformity still a different paper.

The circulation of the evening papers in Chicago is greater than that of the morning papers, and it is probable that they are preferred in more cases than are the morning papers. For business and professional men the reverse is true; among them the morning papers are read in larger numbers and are preferred in more instances than the evening papers. With these men the evening papers are often to be regarded merely as subsidiary. The laboring classes have no time to read a morning paper, but after the day's work is over, the evening paper is read and doubtless much more than fifteen minutes is devoted to it. Many business and professional men prefer evening papers and many laboring men prefer the morning papers, but such instances are exceptions rather than the rule.

A majority of business and professional men fail to see advertisements appearing in evening papers and are not greatly affected by those that they do see. Likewise, probably a majority of the laboring class are unaffected by advertisements appearing in the morning papers. If these statements did not have so many exceptions the advertiser's task would be comparatively simple when it comes to choosing a medium for any particular advertisement. If he wanted to reach the better classes, he would use the morning papers; if he wanted to reach the laboring class, he would employ the evening papers.

The replies from the two thousand showed somewhat

of a uniformity in their selection of a preferred paper, but the most surprising thing was the lack of uniformity. This particular group could not be reached by using anything less than all the papers. Perhaps one-half of them could be reached by a single paper, three-fourths by two papers, and over nine-tenths of all by using half the papers.

The chief interest in the investigation centers in the answers to the third question. (III. State in order the five features of your paper which interest you most.)

To reduce the answers to some sort of a comprehensible unit, the following plan was adopted. A feature that was mentioned as first choice was credited with five points; one mentioned as second choice, four points; one mentioned as third choice, three points; one mentioned as fourth choice, two points; one mentioned as fifth choice, one point. The sum of all these points was arbitrarily assumed to represent the sum total of interest. It was then found what per cent. of this total interest had been credited to politics, editorials, and all other features mentioned by any of the respondents. As thus found, the total result for all papers and all respondents is as follows:

	PER CENT.
Local news.....	17.8
Political news.....	15.8
Financial news.....	11.3
Foreign news.....	9.5
Editorials.....	9.
General news.....	7.2
Ethical tone(broadly considered)	6.7
Sporting news.....	5.8
Cartoons.....	4.3
Special articles.....	4.3

	PER CENT.
Music.....	1.88
Book reviews.....	1.84
Arrangement.....	1.4
Society notes.....	1.4
Drama.....	1.1
Art.....	.9
Advertisements.....	.44
Storiettes.....	.13
Weather .....	.1
Humor.....	.05

Inasmuch as these figures represent the distribution as found for all the papers combined, it would, of course, be anticipated that the same order would not hold exactly for any individual paper. In most particulars there is a pronounced similarity in the distribution of interest in the different papers. This is true, for instance, in the case of local news. In one paper it monopolizes 19.5 per cent. of the interest and in the others 18.8 per cent., 18.3 per cent., 17.6 per cent., 14.9 per cent., 13.8 per cent., 12.8 per cent., and 12.1 per cent., respectively. In some features the diversity between papers is very great. Thus in one paper 19 per cent. of the interest is in sporting news, in another but 2 per cent. In one paper 19.7 per cent. of the interest is in financial news, in another but 6.9 per cent. These last illustrations from sporting news and finance are exceptional instances, and even in these the extremes are found in the papers that were least often mentioned as the preferred papers. For all the papers and for all the different groups into which the business and professional men were divided the striking fact was the uniformity of interests. Features that were interesting to any group in any

paper were usually found to be interesting in all the papers and to all the groups. The features that were most uniformly interesting were the news items, which possessed over seventy-five per cent. of the total interest. All other features were low in interest with most of the groups and in most of the papers. As is indicated in the tabulation above, advertisements did not seem to attract much attention.

These results make it clear that the Chicago dailies are valued as NEWS papers and as little else. Local news, general news, foreign news, financial news, political news, and sporting news,—these monopolize the interest of business and professional men. Editorials, stories, book reviews, art, music, drama, society,—all these combined do not possess so much interest as local news alone. Every one seemed interested in news, and when cartoons and editorials were mentioned the writers were frequently careful to add that they were interested in these because they were a summary or index of some important news.

Advertisements aiming to secure new subscribers to a newspaper should give most importance to the description of the news service of that particular paper. Other features might be mentioned, but the uniformity with which all groups expressed their interest in the news in each of the papers makes it quite certain that here we have the vital feature of the newspaper and that which gives it its name.

The third question should be considered in connection with the fifth. (V. What induced you to begin the subscription of the paper or papers which you are now taking?) Immediately following the statement of the third question, as printed in the questionnaire, suggestive answers were presented. This list of examples acted

as a constant suggestion and made it more likely that the answers cited would be given than any original ones. No such suggestions were added to the statement of the fifth question and hence answers to this latter question are more reliable. While it resulted in the presentation of many different answers, still the uniformity with which the news items were mentioned—observed in the answers to the third question—is even greater here.

Of all the motives that could be classified, the following show what per cent. of the total number of times each motive was mentioned:

To keep informed concerning current events.....	65%
Ethical tone (including accuracy, etc.).....	10%
Premiums.....	4%
Cartoons.....	4%
Special articles.....	3%
Reputation of paper.....	1%
Service (best delivery).....	1%

All other motives (about twenty in number) received scattering mention.

It is a significant fact that sixty-five per cent. of the business and professional men united in stating that the motive in first subscribing to their chosen papers was the desire to keep informed concerning current events. The following expressions were frequently used and are most suggestive: "to keep in touch with current events," "desire to be informed," "to be informed as to what is going on," "to be up to the times and not a back number," "to be *en rapport* with the world."

In comparison with this desire for news of current events all other motives seem insignificant. News service is the desideratum. If a choice is to be made be-

tween papers equally good in news service, then premiums and cartoons or even editorials and storiettes may become the deciding factor.

In waging a campaign to increase the circulation of newspapers the fact should be constantly before the advertiser's mind that people are interested primarily in the news. A description of the methods used by any great paper to secure the news would be a most powerful argument for securing new subscribers. A presentation of all the means employed to avoid mistakes, and hence to present the news accurately, would furnish a theme for further advertisements. A truly educational campaign carried on in the interests of the two themes—completeness of news service and care to present the truth—would increase the circulation of any of the better metropolitan dailies.

The questionnaire invited no criticisms of daily papers and yet many of these business and professional men volunteered criticisms which they inserted on the sheets of questions or else wrote them in personal letters that were enclosed. There are but few criticisms of the less important features of the papers. There are almost no criticisms of the storiettes, the society notes, the book reviews, the funny columns, etc. All these seem to be as good as desired; nor does the reader express himself as aggrieved by the poor quality or even by the absence of any of them.

In the main the criticism centered about the news service, the editorials, and the general lack of integrity of the papers. There was no criticism of the newspapers for failure to know the facts; they were criticised rather for the failure to present an unbiased report. The same sort of criticism is made of the editorial columns. The editor is believed to be unduly influenced by the business

manager. The phrase "the potent censorship of Big Business," or some analogous expression, occurred so often that it seemed to express a general lack of confidence.

The present research was not devised to ascertain the degree of confidence in newspapers, and one would not be justified in asserting that the lack of confidence is general unless other grounds for the statement were at hand.

The newspaper that would be preferred by the representative business and professional men might not be popular with other classes of society. Judging from the answers of two thousand men the conviction is forced upon one that they do not care to have a newspaper serve as interpreter, defender, or advocate of the truth. All that is desired is a brief but comprehensive publication of the news. That editor will be the most appreciated who selects the news most wisely and presents the unvarnished truth in all matters in which the constituency are interested. Some persons have no interest in the sporting pages; others never admit reading crimes and casualties. Individual interests are so varied that no paper can expect general circulation without criticism from many readers because of the events emphasized in news gathering. However, the readers do not complain generally because of the presence of pages of material that they never read. The man who is not interested in finance, sports, etc., does not complain because of the presence of these things. He does complain because in place of a short and accurate account of things interesting to him, he finds long and inaccurate accounts of them. The ideal paper would have to do only with facts. The news would have to be well written, but the interest would be mainly in the news itself

and not in the reporter's or the publisher's views concerning it.

There are many persons who read neither books nor monthly or weekly magazines. For them the daily newspaper must supply the place of all these. The storiette is their only literature. The editor and the reporter must interpret the daily events. The unbiased presentation of these daily events would not be adequate. For the business and professional man the circumstances are different. All of the two thousand business and professional men answering my questionnaire read much besides the daily papers. Their literary entertainment is found in books and magazines.

The whole reading world desires to secure pleasure from literature, to read articles which champion its rights, and to follow some great leader in interpreting current events. That all these functions are performed in many instances by the daily press cannot be doubted. That the better class of society has passed beyond this condition is likewise apparent. The results as presented above make it quite evident that for the vast majority the daily paper is merely a *news* paper. For this class the ideal paper would be the one that serves this interest most perfectly. Cartoons would find a place in such papers but they would not be the same sort of cartoons that appear in the monthly comic papers. Editorials would find a place but they would be in the main concise statements concerning important events. Special articles would be in place in such a paper but they would deal in the main with current events. The ideal daily would put its emphasis on the field that is not covered by the weeklies and monthlies. It would also present the events of the day in such form that they could be read in fifteen minutes; for the busy man does not devote more than that time to any daily paper.

The question which the advertiser is sure to raise in this connection is, What sort of advertisements could be valuable in what might be an ideal paper for the so-called better classes? If the ideal paper is fully differentiated from the weeklies and monthlies in its "literary departments," has it not surrendered to them also the field of advertising except for the announcement of local sales and other similar events? Has it not ceased to be a competitor for national advertising? This conclusion does not follow; for the ideal newspaper, which had the full confidence of its readers, would be a powerful medium for all classes of advertisements. Success in advertising is based on confidence, and one reason why advertising rates are higher in weeklies and monthlies for a proportionate amount of circulation is the fact that at the present time people have more confidence in these than in the dailies.

Potential customers are not coldly logical and analytic in estimating commodities. An advertisement seen on garbage boxes may be a good advertisement and may announce real bargains but it possesses little influence. The same advertisement seen in a cherished household publication carries all the respect and trust that has been created by the other departments of the publication. We do not appreciate even good food if served upon dirty dishes. We are not influenced even by a good advertisement appearing in daily papers if they seem to us to be in any way unreliable.

The present research was not undertaken to discover the value of newspapers as advertising media for the better class of society, but to ascertain which motives would appeal most profoundly to this class of society in inducing them to subscribe for newspapers. Incidentally the fact is revealed that the newspapers do not have the

confidence of many of this particular class of society. If later researches discover the fact that the lack of confidence is general with this class of society, the results may be disquieting to the publishers, but it will result in the production of some newspapers which conform to the demands of this great and influential body of citizens. The sensational newspaper may possess the confidence of the lower classes of society and hence be a good advertising medium for reaching that class. Unless the newspapers are a valuable medium with the better classes, they are not serviceable for many of the most influential advertisers. The hope for relief from sensational journalism is to be found only in the discovery of the fact that a very influential class of business and professional men cannot be influenced by advertisements appearing in sensational publications. That this hope will be realized may be confidently anticipated if we may judge from the similar results which have been brought about of recent years in our best weeklies and monthlies. A few years ago all these publications contained advertisements of patent medicines, questionable financial schemes, etc. Many readers were interested in these advertisements and the space was well paid for. The significant fact was discovered, however, that more advertising space could be sold in high-grade magazines that did not accept such advertisements. The space in the cleaner publications was worth more, simply because such publications secured the confidence of the class of society that had the money necessary to purchase the advertised goods.

The value of a publication as an advertising medium is in a large degree determined by the particular class of citizens whose confidence it possesses. This is shown in monthlies, weeklies, and dailies. For instance, for

every thousand of circulation the advertising space in the *Century Magazine* is worth one hundred and seventy-eight per cent. more than that in the *Popular Magazine*; and likewise, space in *Collier's Weekly* sells for two hundred and thirty-three per cent. more than space in *Hearst's Sunday Magazine*. The Chicago evening papers are not able to secure so much for advertising space as the morning papers, circulation considered. The results of the investigation concerning the opinions of the two thousand Chicago business and professional men show that the Chicago paper which was most often preferred in proportion to its total circulation is the paper that secures, in proportion to circulation, a larger price than any of the others for its advertising space. That paper which was the least often preferred is the one which is compelled to sell its advertising space the cheapest, circulation being considered in both particulars.

It will not be necessary for the better classes of society to boycott the firms advertising in the sensational newspapers—although such action might hasten the day of relief. If a large proportion of the better classes of society lack confidence in newspapers, then these publications are not so valuable as advertising media as they might be. Sooner or later the publishers will find out the facts. Newspapers are sure to conform to the demands of the people because any other policy would be suicidal on the part of the publishers. Probably from fifty to ninety per cent. of the total income from any newspaper is derived from its advertising pages. Anything which makes these pages valuable will be diligently sought for even though the policy adopted may reduce the total subscription list.

In all the answers received from business and professional men there was no expression of a hope that

the newspapers would ever be better than at present. The sentiment seemed to be common that they were getting worse. Two facts, however, render this pessimistic conclusion at least uncertain if not improbable. The first fact is that the newspapers are primarily dependent for their life upon the income from their advertising. The second fact is that the value of these pages is largely determined by the confidence which the public has in the paper as a whole; for lack of confidence in one part is unconsciously extended to all parts. The better American metropolitan daily is a wonderful embodiment of enterprise. If it would be strengthened as an advertising medium by an increased confidence on the part of the better classes of society, it is quite certain that the publishers will be equal to the emergency and will produce a paper that meets the enlightened and cultured demands.

The Questionnaire Method is available in securing data valuable in planning an advertising campaign. If the questions asked are reasonable and interesting and if the motives of the person carrying on the research are not questioned, a large proportion of business and professional men will fill out the blank.

Most business and professional men read more than one daily and hence may be reached by an advertisement even though it is not inserted in all the papers. Advertisements inserted both in the best and also in the poorer papers are largely lost in the latter because of duplication of circulation.

Most business and professional men spend about fifteen minutes daily reading papers. The amount of time spent in reading advertisements must be very small. Hence advertisements should be so constructed that they will catch the reader's glance.

Business and professional men subscribe for dailies because of the desire for news. Prizes, editorials, stories, etc., are of secondary importance in inducing these men to subscribe for any particular paper.

These business and professional men lacked confidence in their preferred daily papers. Hence advertisements seen in such publications do not have the greatest possible influence. The newspaper is, from the publisher's point of view, primarily an advertising medium and can attain its maximum value only when it secures the full confidence of its readers. This fact may lead to an improvement in the ethical standards of our daily papers.

XXX

THE SOCIAL SERVICE OF ADVERTISING

THE most widely known advertiser of the past generation worked on the assumption that the American public likes to be humbugged. The advertising of the late P. T. Barnum is still thought of by many as typical of all advertising. His style might be characterized as consummate skill in the use of bombast, hyperbole, and deceit. By glare of color, by exaggeration of description, and by grandeur of parades it bamboozled many innocent citizens into attending the menagerie, the circus, and the side shows. Such methods of advertising are so far removed from the methods pursued by continuous and successful advertising of to-day that it seems unjust to assign the same name to both.

The advertising of Barnum was founded on the fact that he could hoodwink the public with profit to himself. Such advertising should be called *bamboozling the public* rather than advertising. The best advertising campaigns of to-day are founded on the assumption that the confidence of the public can be won by service rendered and when secured is the business man's most valuable asset. Such advertising might properly be designated as the *modern form of salesmanship*.

As human beings we are so organized into groups and subgroups that no one person can act in any way without affecting the other members of the group of which he is a member. If one negro commits a nefarious crime,

all his race fall in our estimation. If one black man develops into a Booker T. Washington, we are likely to expect unprecedented evolution of his entire race. If by chance we come into contact with a Chinese gentleman of unusual intellectual and moral worth, we are inclined to look for the orientalizing of the world.

As our opinion of a whole race is prejudiced by a few individuals of that race, so too is our judgment of the classes within the race biased by a few examples. One notorious slugger and dynamiter prejudices a million against all laborers. One corrupt capitalist awakens a popular distrust of the well-to-do classes.

If a single person can affect the reputation of his entire nationality, and if each member of a group can affect the reputation of the entire group, a single advertiser has to an extreme degree the power to affect the reputation of all advertisers. A dishonest advertiser is a double menace to all of his associates, not only because he actually deceives and defrauds the unwary, but also because by his wide publicity he subjects all advertisers to the scorn of the sophisticated.

Modern advertising has the important and difficult task of overcoming the prejudice created by the exploiters of the past generation and perpetuated by the few disreputable advertisers of the present time.

In a recent research on the psychology of advertising, 21,820 persons answered one or more of the following three questions:

Do you answer advertisements?

Are you satisfied?

If not, what is your complaint?

Of that number 17,855 asserted that they made use of advertisements. The remaining 3,965 declared that they never had answered advertisements, or else had

ceased to do so. Of the 3,965 who did not answer advertisements, the overwhelming majority said they did not trust the statements of the advertisers. Practically all would have been glad to make use of advertisements and would have done so if it were not for this element of distrust.

Of the 17,855 who had answered advertisements, over ninety per cent. of them reported that their experience had been perfectly satisfactory.

This fact comes out in the results of the research: *Although it is lack of confidence that makes the public hesitate to answer advertisements, yet the number of persons who are disappointed in answering advertisements has become relatively small.*

No class of society, no professional, industrial, or commercial group can win and retain the confidence and respect of the public without adequate cause. In a recent research in social psychology, one hundred adults of experience were asked their judgments on these two questions:

Fifty years ago, which group held most completely the respect and confidence of the American public,—the lawyer, the physician, the business man, the minister, or the professor?

To-day which group holds most completely the respect and confidence of the American public,—the lawyer, the physician, the business man, the minister, or the professor?

The general consensus of opinion of the one hundred respondents was that the business man was clearly not the most respected fifty years ago, but that during these past five decades he had been progressing until to-day he outranks all his competitors in gaining the respect and confidence of the public.

Fifty years ago the advertiser was one of the least respected members of one of the least respected classes of society. To-day he is one of the most highly respected members of the most highly respected class of society. Such a remarkable change in social status cannot be accidental, but is the result of a psychological law that will continue to control the further evolution of advertising.

In general, *society has given its most profound respect and confidence to that class of society which renders the service which is felt as the most insistent and most vital.* Because of this fact the holders of social prestige differ from nation to nation and from age to age according as these needs change from time to time and from place to place.

The most highly respected class in Germany previous to November, 1918, was clearly not the commercial class. Germany was comparatively a small country territorially and was surrounded on all sides by nations jealous of her and supposedly desirous of humiliating her. The most pressing need of the German was supposed to be protection from these dreaded foreign foes. The German army satisfied this need. The military man was therefore looked upon in Germany as the one indispensable member of society. He alone could perform the task which the patriotic Germans most desired to have accomplished. Because of this fact, the social prestige in Germany was held by the military class. Where possible, the German traced his ancestor to a man of military achievement. If a father, his ambition for his sons was that they might become officers in the army; his highest ambition for a daughter was that she might become the wife of a soldier. Every German took off his hat when he met an army officer. This homage was

bestowed because of the service rendered by the military class, the supposed preservation of the integrity of the Fatherland.

From the sixth to the thirteenth century, Europe was inhabited by peoples submerged in ignorance and superstition. The blight of the crop, the destruction of the cattle, the hurricane, disease, pain, and death were all looked upon as the working of unseen and supernatural powers. Their most pressing felt need was deliverance from these malign forces. Such a deliverance was offered by the priest. The priest not only offered escape from future eternal punishment, but he interceded for the living individual as well, and freed him from the dread of unfriendly supernatural forces. The priest thus rendered the service which the individual felt as the profoundest necessity. As a result of such services, the priestly class was given the place of social prestige. The Emperor bowed down to the Pope, and one-third of the soil of Europe passed by free-will offerings into the hands of the clergy.

In every land and in all ages there is a felt need for the formulation, adjudication, and execution of laws. The criminal must be restrained, justice between citizens secured, and the rights of the individual protected. When the ruling class renders such service, society grants to the political ruler and to his associates unrivaled social prestige.

From 1865 to 1900 the United States passed through a period of unprecedented commercial and industrial expansion. The most pressing felt need of the nation was the building of railroads, the stretching of wires, the sinking of wells, the digging of mines, the construction of manufacturing plants, and the organization of industry on a national and international scale. This was

a service that the capitalist could and did render. Hence it was that during the period from 1865 to 1900 the capitalist was the American idol. We looked up to him and permitted him to dictate our laws and our national policy. Mothers discarded the traditions of Achilles, of David, and of King Arthur, but awakened the ambitions of their sons by narrating the achievements of the captains of industry.

But, suppose a German army did preserve the nation from the fear of foreign aggression and did win the confidence and respect of the German; suppose the priesthood did free the medieval Europeans from the dread of unseen forces and thus secured the first place in the estimation of the inhabitants of the continent of Europe; suppose the ruling classes in many ages and nations have protected their peoples from injustice and oppression and thus won the fealty of their subjects; suppose the capitalists in America have enabled the nation to organize her activities on a more extensive plan and have thus received in return the homage of all America,—what of all this? What has it to do with advertising?

It has ordinarily been assumed that no man goes in for advertising except to make money, that it is not his purpose to shield the citizen from foreign aggressions, to protect the ignorant from unseen enemies, to banish fraud, or to organize industry for the benefit of the public in any way. The twentieth-century conception is that, although no man goes in for advertising unless he expects to find it profitable, the only way to make money in advertising is to *render social service*. Occasionally an ancient pirate retained his booty to the end. We all know of instances where by fraud and corruption fortunes have been amassed. Highwaymen, counterfeiters, forgers, and defrauders are not always restrained,

yet we all agree that in business, honesty is the best policy. Advertising is the outcome of a social evolution. The advertiser is, in the last analysis, the servant of the ultimate consumer. Only in so far as he proves to be an efficient servant does he receive the respect and confidence of his master, the ultimate consumer.

To-day we have come to see that the crucial estimate of the work of the advertiser is service to the ultimate consumer. By approximating this standard the advertiser has arisen in social prestige. But until his advertising is conducted strictly in the interest of the ultimate consumer he will never win the complete confidence of the public and occupy the position of prestige to which he may possibly attain.

But few, if any of us, to-day believe that the position of the United States among the nations of the earth is to be effected by military force. We are not likely to be invaded by a hostile army, and we are not likely to better our condition by conquest. Our national struggle is to be economic and not military. The greatest menace to America's prosperity to-day is the high cost of living. We have largely solved our problems of production and manufacture, but our problem of distribution is with the future. The cost which is added to the product, after it leaves the producer or manufacturer, and before it reaches the ultimate consumer, is so enormous that it would seem no people could continue to pay it year after year and not become impoverished. One single item in the distribution of merchandise is general advertising. America's annual contribution to such advertising is commonly estimated at \$800,000,000. It has been stated by various advertising experts that much of this advertising is so unwisely done, that three-fourths of it is lost annually.

The annual expense for traveling salesmen is said to approximate \$1,600,000,000, or double that for general advertising. It is possible that if advertising were sufficiently well done, the number of traveling salesmen could be decreased so that the expense for such salesmen would be reduced to \$800,000,000 annually; that is to say, \$800,000,000, the expense of traveling salesmen, would be made equal to the amount now expended annually for advertising. This economy alone would save the American people \$800,000,000 annually. Such an amount, if spent for food, and applied to the right places, would probably be sufficient to drive want from the home of every needy family in America. Every dollar squandered in distribution is lost to the ultimate consumer. On the other hand, the ultimate consumer receives the benefit from every dollar that is wisely spent on advertising, because efficient advertising is the most economical form known of distributing merchandise.

One of the favorite questions for debate in the old-fashioned debating society was, Which is mightier, the pen or the sword? In Germany the soldier was better trained than the advertiser, the soldier's service was more important in the eyes of the patriotic citizen, and the soldier was esteemed more highly than the advertiser. But in Germany the new generation is less enthusiastic for war and more enthusiastic for commercial efficiency. In America the advertiser is as well trained as the soldier. The distribution of the necessities of life is recognized as a greater social service than intimidating Indians and strikers or parading on Decoration Day. If the advertiser renders a greater social service than the soldier, society will be willing to award him honor and fitting remuneration.

In the hand of the efficient advertiser the pen wields

the mightier influence for the prosperity of America than a musket in the hands of a national volunteer. Society ultimately rewards those who render needed service and it is no surprise that the advertiser is coming to his own in the estimation and esteem of our people.

Until the last century the typical American family lived in the country or in a small village. The needs of the family appear to us to have been pathetically few. Practically all the provisions for the table were raised in the family garden or purchased from producers in the vicinity. If the flour was had from the miller, he was a neighbor known personally to all of his customers. Every man in the community knew the quality of wheat used for grinding and had watched the process of manufacture from the time the wheat left the bin until it was tied up as flour in the sack. The purchaser knew the products as well as did the manufacturer himself.

The clothing was not infrequently spun and made up in the home. When garments were purchased, the buyer was in a position to judge of the quality and price of the goods, for the source of material and the method of manufacture were known to him.

The principal method of transportation was by means of the horse. Every purchaser of a horse knew the weak and the strong points of the animal. Not infrequently he had known the horse by name from the time it was a colt. The seller and the buyer were on equal footing and the joy of trading horses was recognized among our ancestors.

If any form of investment were to be made, it might be the purchase of real estate in the vicinity, a part interest in a neighboring industry, or perhaps a government bond.

Food, clothing, transportation, and investment were

typical wants of our ancestors. The seller and the buyer possessed equal knowledge of the merchandise. This fact was recognized by law under the principle *caveat emptor*. Translated in simple English this legal term means, Let the purchaser beware. The legal assumption was, that if the purchaser exercised due precaution he would not be cheated. If he was cheated, no one was to blame but himself.

Alas, alas, that the day of the self-sufficient and competent purchaser has passed! You and I look with pity on the medieval European who, surrounded with the mysteries of pain and death, and oppressed with the dread of unseen powers, turned to the priest for guidance and protection. It is necessary but to call your attention to the fact that the ultimate consumer in America is in a position quite comparable to that of his or her ancient European ancestor. When the woman of the house steps to the telephone to order provisions for the morrow she is haunted with the visions of the unseen world—microbes, poison, adulterations, and substitutions. These are horrors and monsters of which personally she can have no knowledge and over which she can have no control.

When she orders clothing for her household she fears that the prints are not permanent, that the woolens are cotton, and that the leather is paper. It is quite beyond her power to judge of the quality or the value of all her purchases.

The buyer of an automobile, the holder of a ticket on a railroad or a steamboat, is unable to judge for himself as to the quality of material and workmanship that goes into the construction of his vehicle of transportation.

The man and the woman having money to invest know little or nothing of the business methods of the corpora-

tion in whose securities they invest their earnings. They are not in a position to investigate the business for themselves, nor can they afford to secure the services of competent attorneys or experts to make independent reports for them, because the cost of this investigation would as a rule far exceed the amount of the investment.

The ultimate consumer in America, in making his purchases, is in a peculiarly dependent condition. In case of need, society seeks a protection. At the present juncture the honest distributor, and particularly the honorable advertiser, is assuming the responsibility of protecting the ignorant.

The publishers of some of our best magazines allow no advertisement to appear in their pages unless the firm placing the advertisement is financially and otherwise responsible, and unless the advertisement contains only statements deemed to be truthful.

A few of the best advertising agencies refuse to give their advice to firms conducting questionable business. Such agencies refuse business on the ground that the merchandise offered for sale renders no social service—it neither reduces the cost of living nor adds to the richness of life.

Our best mercantile houses exercise the greatest precaution to see that their advertisements in no way deceive the readers or arouse false hope. The advertisements are written, not mainly to dispose of a particular line of goods, but to provide possible customers with store news and to create good will.

Likewise the advertising campaigns of our best bond houses are planned, not primarily to sell any particular securities, but to educate the public to discriminate between sound and unsound investments. By such educational campaigns the public is being taught to be wary

of investments exploited by promises of inordinately high income return or by promises of certainty of rise in value. When the public is thus educated it avoids the tipster, the tout, and the man of the sure-thing gamble, and it seeks out the house that offers investment service, that offers a diversity of sound investment, that places safety above speculation, principle above high interest, and bases its business on its ability to keep its customers rather than on its ability to continue to get a lot of new business.

One of the principal services rendered society by the political ruler and his associates is the creation of laws, their adjudication and execution. This service is tendered primarily in the interests of social justice. In the present state of the commercial world, our governmental powers are unable to render such service in any adequate degree.

Mr. R. S. Sharp, Chief Post-Office Inspector, reports that during a recent year the American public handed over \$77,000,000 to men who were later convicted of fraud. A large part of this \$77,000,000 was secured as a result of fraudulent advertising. Each year there is a new brood. The Post-Office Department is unable to prevent fraudulent advertising. The best it can do is to punish a few of the worst offenders after they have defrauded the public of millions of dollars annually and made the public suspicious of all advertisers. *There is no force in America that can suppress fraudulent advertising and thus win the confidence of the public in advertisements except the advertisers themselves.*

The honest advertisers of America are awakening to the fact that they alone possess the power to eliminate the fraudulent advertiser. No advertising publication can flourish unless it receives the patronage of the

reputable advertisers. When, therefore, the reputable advertisers refuse to buy space in publications carrying questionable advertisements the fraudulent advertiser is forced from the field. When reputable manufacturers refuse to place their accounts with agencies handling the business of any questionable firms, the criminal destroyers of public confidence are unable to exploit their commodities.

In so far as educational advertising campaigns teach the public to discriminate between the honest merchant and the faker, the houses conducting the campaigns not only gain customers, they also render a social service of incalculable value.

During the last six or seven decades the capitalist has made possible the expansion of American industries. He has supplied the plant and the equipment. The railroads, the rural route, the irrigating ditch, the wells and the mines are now realities, and should be utilized in the service of the public. Expansion would be useless unless a comprehensive and economical method of distribution were provided. Because of these services, the capitalist has won our esteem, but the greater task of distribution is left to the advertiser. There is no real service in scientific manufacture on a large scale unless there can be a final reduction in cost to the ultimate consumer. When the cost of distribution shall have been lessened as has the cost of production, then, not the capitalist, but the advertiser will be heralded as the captain of industry.

The advertiser in the past may have been the exploiter of the public, but the new generation of advertisers are becoming more and more the protectors of society. In the past they may have in all too many instances misled the unwary, but the successful advertisers of to-day are

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becoming the trusted guides of the ultimate consumer. The fraudulent advertiser has not yet become extinct, nevertheless the great body of advertisers in America is to-day one of the most substantial forces in protecting the public from fraud.

XXXI

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PLANNING AN ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN FOR A MANUFACTURER. *Bulletin of the University of Minnesota, 1914, pp. 99.* Maps out an advertising campaign by a thoroughgoing analysis of the product, its markets, channels of distribution, media, and the construction of its ads.

MARTIN, MAC.

ADVERTISING CAMPAIGNS. *Alexander Hamilton Institute, New York, 1917, pp. 338.* Written as a text-book for the Alexander Hamilton Institute. Starts a campaign from the beginning with an analysis of the demand for the product, competition to be encountered, costs, methods of giving identity to the product, advertising technique, mediums and ways of estimating their value, testing success by sampling and other means.

MATAJA, VICTOR.

DIE REKLAME. EINE UNTERSUCHUNG ÜBER ANKÜNDIGUNGSWESEN UND WERBETÄTIGKEIT IM GESCHÄFTSLEBEN. *Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 489.* An exhaustive study treating of the laws and principles of advertising, media, technique, and the legal regulations of advertising.

MCNAUGHLAN, FLINT.

MORE BUSINESS THROUGH POSTCARDS: AN EXHAUSTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POSSIBILITIES FOR INTENSIVELY INCREASING PROFITABLE

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SALES THROUGH RETURN POSTCARDS. DRAWN FROM THE EXPERIENCES AND RECORDS OF OVER 100 FIRMS REPRESENTING PRACTICALLY EVERY LINE OF BUSINESS. *Selling Aid, Chicago, 1917, pp. 39.*

MINNEAPOLIS JOURNAL.

ATTAINABLE IDEALS IN NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING. 1920.

MORAN, CLARENCE.

THE BUSINESS OF ADVERTISING. *Methuen & Co., London, 1905, pp. 191, 2s. 6d. net.* The book contains the following chapters: Advertising and its Utility; History of Advertising; Manual of Advertising; Advertising in the Press; Advertising by Circular; The Pictorial Poster (other chapters and appendices are purely local in interest).

OPDYCKE, JOHN BAKER.

NEWS, ADS AND SALES: THE USE OF ENGLISH FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1914, pp. 193.* A study of the newspaper as an advertising medium. A comparison of it with other forms of advertising.

OPDYCKE, JOHN BAKER.

ADVERTISING AND SELLING PRACTICE. *A. W. Shaw Co., Chicago, 1918, pp. 230, \$2.65.* A clear exposition of the principles, practices, and methods of advertising and selling. Contains an extensive bibliography.

OSBORN, ALEXANDER FAICKNEY.

BRASS TACKS OF ADVERTISING, AN UNMYSTERIOUS ANALYSIS OF THE PRACTICAL PHASES OF THE KIND OF ADVERTISING WHICH ANALYZES. *Hausauer-Jones Printing Co., Buffalo, 1915, pp. 135, \$2.00.* Popular chapters on such topics as: How Best to Attract the Eye; How to Advertise the Half-Wanted Product, etc.

PARSONS, FRANK ALVAH.

PRINCIPLES OF ADVERTISING ARRANGEMENT. *Prang Co., New York, 1913.* The application to advertising of accepted principles of form and color. The necessity of considering

such things as color, color-combination, shape, balance, tendency to eye movement, etc.

POWELL, GEORGE HENRY.

POWELL'S PRACTICAL ADVERTISER. *Published by the author, New York, 1905, pp. 229, \$5.00.* A practical work for advertisement writers and business men, with instructions on planning, preparing, placing, and managing modern publicity. With cyclopedia of over one thousand useful advertisements.

PRATT, WILLIAM KNIGHT.

THE ADVERTISING MANUAL. *Daniel Stern, Chicago, 1909, pp. 278, \$3.50.*

RAMSAY, R. E.

EFFECTIVE HOUSE ORGANS. *Appleton, New York, 1920, \$3.50.*

RICHARDS, WILLIAM HURST.

HOW TO MAKE MONEY BY ADVERTISING. *Published by the author, Baltimore, 1913, pp. 96, \$1.00.* Short book on the value of advertising.

RICHARDS, WILLIAM HURST.

POWER IN ADVERTISING. *Empire Printing Co., Kansas City, Mo., 1915, pp. 274, \$2.00.* A second book of the same general style as the first by this author.

RICHARDSON, A. O.

THE POWER OF ADVERTISING. *Lambert Publishing Co., New York, 1913, pp. 300.* An interesting work on the social and economic value of advertising as well as its principles and technique.

ROGERS, EDWARD S.

GOOD WILL, TRADE-MARKS AND UNFAIR TRADING. *A. W. Shaw Co., Chicago, 1914, pp. 288, \$3.25.* About ten chapters are devoted to a study of the trademark as an advertising device and the methods of safeguarding same.

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ROGERS, W. S.

A BOOK OF THE POSTER. *Greening & Co., London, 1901, pp. 158, 7s. 6d.* Illustrated with examples of the work of the principal poster artists of the world.

ROWELL, GEORGE PRESBURY.

FORTY YEARS AN ADVERTISING AGENT, 1865-1905. *Printers' Ink Publishing Co., New York, 1906, 517 pp., \$2.00.* The book contains no table of contents, but is subdivided into fifty-two "papers"; the contents of the book are mainly reminiscence, but the style of the author is so pleasing that the papers will be found interesting even by those who have never known the author personally.

RUBEN, PAUL.

DIE REKLAME. IHRE KUNST UND WISSENSCHAFT. HERAUSGEGEBEN VON PAUL RUBEN, UNTER MITARBEIT BEKANNTER FACHLEUTE, JURISTEN UND KÜNSTLER. *Verlag für Sozialpolitik, volumes 1 and 2, 1913-14.* A symposium in two large volumes of articles written by a dozen or more authors, on such topics as: The Makeup and Details of Advertising; American and German Advertising; Advertising in the Cigarette Industry; What we Accomplished in America through Advertising; Science in Advertising, etc.

RUBIN, MANNING J.

MAKING ADVERTISEMENTS PAY. *Hannis, Jordan Co., New York, 1913, pp. 89.* Short articles on the value and some of the devices of advertising.

RUSSELL, T. H.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISING. *Putnam, New York, 1919. \$2.50.*

SAMMONS, WHEELER.

MAKING MORE OUT OF ADVERTISING. *A. W. Shaw Co., Chicago, 1919, pp. 285, \$3.25.* Describes the practical problems and details of advertising and how to handle them. Applies especially to the business of retail advertising.

SAMPSON, EDITH.

ADVERTISE. *D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1918, pp. 240.* Interesting little book dealing with what the author terms the ten commandments of advertising.

SAMPSON, HENRY.

A HISTORY OF ADVERTISING FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES. *Chatto & Windus, London, 1874, pp. 616, 7s. 6d.* Illustrated by anecdotes, curious specimens and biographical notes. The book is exactly what the title asserts and has supplied many an interesting story or illustration for speakers before advertising clubs.

SAWYER, SAMUEL.

SECRETS OF THE MAIL-ORDER TRADE. *Sawyer Publishing Co., New York, 1900, pp. 180, \$1.00.* The book is confined to the subject named in the title and is rather well written and instructive.

SCOTT, WALTER DILL.

THEORY OF ADVERTISING. *Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, 1903, pp. 240, \$2.00, net.* A Simple Exposition of the Principles of Psychology in Their Relation to Advertising. This book is the first volume in which psychological principles are thus applied, and hence the book may be said to have created a new era in the science of advertising. The book contains the following chapters: The Theory of Advertising; Attention; Association of Ideas; Suggestion; The Direct Command; The Psychological Value of the Return Coupon; Psychological Experiment; Perception; Illusions of Perception; Illusions of Apperception; Personal Differences in Mental Imagery; Practical Application of Mental Imagery; Conclusion.

SHAW, A. W., COMPANY.

HOW TO WRITE ADVERTISEMENTS THAT SELL. HOW TO PLAN EVERY STEP IN YOUR CAMPAIGN—USING SALES POINTS, SCHEMES, AND INDUCEMENTS. HOW TO WRITE AND LAY OUT COPY—CHOOSING PROSPECT LISTS AND MEDIUMS—TESTS AND RECORDS THAT

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INCREASE RETURNS. HOW 146 SHREWD ADVERTISERS PLAN AND PLACE THEIR COPY. *A. W. Shaw Co., Chicago, 1912, pp. 128.*

SHAW, A. W., COMPANY.

ATTRACTING AND HOLDING CUSTOMERS. *A. W. Shaw Co., Chicago, 1919. \$3.00.*

SHAW, A. W., COMPANY.

MORE SALES THROUGH ADVERTISING. *A. W. Shaw Co., Chicago, 1920. \$3.50.*

SHERBOW, BENJ.

MAKING TYPE WORK. *Century Co., New York, 1916, pp. 129, \$1.25.* A study of the part played by different forms of type in commanding attention, shifting the emphasis of attention, overcoming monotony, etc. Discusses also the matter of sub-heads, side-heads, margins, etc.

SHRYER, W. A.

ANALYTICAL ADVERTISING. *Business Service Corporation, Detroit, 1912, pp. 228.* A discussion of psychology as it applies to advertising. Treats of such topics as sensation, attention, suggestion, reason, interest, habit, imagination.

SHRYER, W. A.

SIXTEEN HUNDRED BUSINESS BOOKS. *H. W. Wilson & Co., New York, 1917.* A bibliography, prepared by the Newark (N.J.) Free Public Library for the A. A. C. of W. The books are listed according to author, title, and subject.

SPIERS, ERNEST A.

THE ART OF PUBLICITY AND ITS APPLICATION TO BUSINESS. *T. F. Unwin, London, 1910, pp. 166.* General discussion of the subject of advertising covering such topics as: How to Attract and Rivet Attention; Cost; Media; Follow-up Letters; and Advertisement Construction.

STARCH, DANIEL.

PRINCIPLES OF ADVERTISING: A SYSTEMATIC SYLLABUS OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF ADVERTISING. *The University*

Co-operative Co., Madison, Wis., 1910, pp. 67, \$1.00. A working outline of the factors involved in successful advertising, with topical references and suggestions for further study. Thorough and concise.

STARCH, DANIEL.

ADVERTISING: ITS PRINCIPLES, PRACTICE, AND TECHNIQUE. *Scott, Foresman & Co., Chicago, 1914, pp. 281, \$1.25.* The author states this is an attempt "to combine the practical and theoretical aspects of the subject in such a way that the practical experiences of business houses, which are quoted at length, may illustrate the underlying principles, and that the discussion of principles may illuminate the practical results of business." A scientific and reliable treatment of the subject. One of the best books on the market.

STEAD, WILLIAM.

THE ART OF ADVERTISING. *T. B. Browné, London, 1899, pp. 151, 3s. 6d.* This is one of the best foreign books, but is not up to the American standard.

STRONG, EDWARD KELLOGG, JR.

THE RELATIVE MERITS OF ADVERTISEMENTS, A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND STATISTICAL STUDY. *The Science Press, New York, 1911, pp. 81.* A careful study by laboratory methods of the relative values of certain well-known advertisements.

TAYLOR, HENRY C.

WHAT AN ADVERTISER SHOULD KNOW: A HANDBOOK FOR EVERY ONE WHO ADVERTISES. *Browne & Howell, Chicago, 1914, pp. 95, \$0.75.* A short book on the practical problems of advertising.

THAYER, JOHN ADAMS.

ASTIR. *Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, 1910, pp. 302, \$1.20 net.*

THOMPSON, J. WALTER.

THE THOMPSON BLUE BOOK ON ADVERTISING. *J. Walter Thompson & Co., New York, 1906, pp. 238.* A register of represen-

tative organs and how to use them. The book is in the main a register of newspapers and other publications with a statement of the supposed circulation of each and the advertising rate. The book is published in the interests of an advertising agency and presents numerous illustrations of the work of the agency. Incidentally much information concerning advertising is presented.

TIPPER, HARRY, HOLLINGWORTH, H. L., HOTCHKISS, G. B., AND PARSONS, F. A.

ADVERTISING, ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES. *The Ronald Press, New York, 1915, pp. 575, \$6.00.* One of the most complete works on the subject of advertising. Considers the subject under the four headings: Economic Factors in Advertising; Psychological Factors in Advertising; Practical Factors in Advertising; and The Technical Details of Advertising.

TIPPER, HARRY; HOLLINGWORTH, HARRY L.; HOTCHKISS, GEORGE BURTON; PARSONS, FRANK ALVAH.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ADVERTISING: A TEXT-BOOK. *The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1920, pp. 376, \$3.50.* This is a so-called "text edition," intended for school use and might be thought of as a later edition of "Advertising: Its Principles and Practices."

TREGURTHA, C., AND FRINGS, J. W.

THE CRAFT OF SILENT SALESMANSHIP: A GUIDE TO ADVERTISEMENT CONSTRUCTION. *Pitman & Son, London, 1917, pp. 97.* A thorough study of the process of preparing an ad for the press. Takes up such details as the "command" versus the "question" heading, sub-headings, admonition, signature, etc.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS FOR ADVERTISING AMERICAN GOODS, ADVERTISING RATES, CIRCULATION, SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ETC. *Government Printing Office, Washington.* A list of foreign news

and trades papers that may be advantageously used for advertising American goods. Prepared from consular reports.

WAGONSELLER, G. W.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ADVERTISING. *Wagonseller Publishing House, Middlebury, Pa., 4th edition, 1919, pp. 64, \$1.00.*

WILSON, GEORGE FREDERICK.

THE HOUSE-ORGAN—HOW TO MAKE IT PRODUCE RESULTS. *Washington Park Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1915, pp. 199, \$2.00.* A study of the house-organ as a business asset. Gives technical details of its make-up and shows where it is most effective.

WOOLLEY, EDWARD MOTT.

THE ART OF SELLING GOODS. *The American Business Man, Chicago, 1907, pp. 167.*

THE FOLLOWING MAGAZINES ARE DEVOTED ENTIRELY OR IN PART TO THE SUBJECT OF ADVERTISING.

Advertising Age and Mail Order Journal, Chicago, monthly.

Advertising Club News, New York, monthly.

Advertising and Selling, New York, monthly.

Advertising World, Columbus, Ohio, monthly.

Associated Advertising, New York, monthly.

Bulletin (American Association of Newspaper Managers), Chicago, monthly.

Business Digest and Investment Weekly, New York, weekly.

Class (advertising in class publications), Chicago, monthly.

Editor and Publisher, New York, weekly.

Exclusive Distributor, Columbus, Ohio, monthly.

Fourth Estate, New York, weekly.

Independent Advertising, New York, monthly.

Mailbag, Cleveland, monthly.

Mail Order News, Newburgh, N.Y., monthly.

Marketing and Business Advertising, Toronto, monthly.

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Newspaperdom, New York, semi-monthly.

Novelty News, Chicago, monthly.

100%, Chicago, monthly.

Postage (magazine of direct advertising), Haverhill, Mass., monthly.

Poster, Chicago, monthly.

Printers' Ink, New York, weekly.

Publishers' Weekly, New York, weekly.

Signs of the Times, Cincinnati, monthly.

Up-to-Date Distributer (house-to-house advertising), Columbus, Ohio, monthly.

THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF THE BOOKS ON PSYCHOLOGY WHICH ARE MOST HELPFUL TO BUSINESS MEN.

ANGELL, JAMES R.

PSYCHOLOGY. *Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1908, pp. 410.*
\$1.50. Modern, scientific, and practical.

ANGELL, JAMES R.

AN INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOLOGY. *Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1918, pp. 281, \$1.36.*

BALDWIN, JAMES MARK.

THE STORY OF THE MIND. *D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1901, pp. 232, small, \$0.35.* An excellent little book and is found by business men to be of interest and value.

BETTS, GEORGE HERBERT.

THE MIND AND ITS EDUCATION. *D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1906, pp. 265, \$1.25.*

COLVIN, S. S., AND BAGLEY, W. C.

HUMAN BEHAVIOR. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1914, pp. 336, \$1.00.*

HALLUCK, REUBEN POST.

EDUCATION OF THE CENTRAL NERVOUS SYSTEM. *Macmillan Co., New York, pp. 285, \$1.50.*

HOFFMAN, FRANK SARGENT.

PSYCHOLOGY AND COMMON LIFE. *G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1903, pp. 286, \$1.30.*

HOLLINGWORTH, HARRY L.

VOCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. *D. Appleton & Co., 1916, pp. 308, \$2.50.*

HOLLINGWORTH, H. L., AND POFFENBERGER, A. T.

APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY. *D. Appleton & Co., 1917, pp. 337, \$2.25.*

JAMES, WILLIAM.

PSYCHOLOGY, BRIEFER COURSE. *Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1900, pp. 478, \$1.60.* This is in many ways the most significant volume that has yet been written in English on psychology. The general reader may begin his reading of the book at page 134, as the first 133 pages involve a knowledge of physiology.

JAMES, WILLIAM.

TALKS TO TEACHERS ON PSYCHOLOGY. *Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1901, pp. 301, \$1.50.* Although this book was written primarily for teachers, it will be found valuable to business men.

JASTROW, JOSEPH.

THE SUBCONSCIOUS. *Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1905, pp. 549, \$2.50.* The best book on the phases of psychology indicated by the title.

JASTROW, JOSEPH.

FACT AND FABLE IN PSYCHOLOGY. *Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900, pp. 375, \$2.50.*

KELLY, T. L.

EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE. *Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1914, \$2.00.*

LADD, G. T., AND WOODWORTH, R. S.

ELEMENTS OF PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY. *Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1911, pp. 704, \$4.00.*

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LINK, HENRY C.

EMPLOYMENT PSYCHOLOGY. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1919, pp. 440, \$2.50.* A description of the application of scientific methods to the selection, training and grading of employees, as practiced by the author in large industrial plants.

MCDUGALL, WILLIAM.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. *John W. Luce & Co., Boston, 1918, pp. 431, \$2.50.*

MUENSTERBERG, HUGO.

PSYCHOLOGY AND LIFE. *Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1899, pp. 286, \$2.50.*

MUENSTERBERG, HUGO.

PSYCHOLOGY AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY. *Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1913, pp. 321, \$1.50.*

MUENSTERBERG, HUGO.

PSYCHOLOGY, GENERAL AND APPLIED. *Appleton & Co., New York, 1914, pp. 487, \$1.75.*

MUENSTERBERG, HUGO.

GRUNDSÜGE DER PSYCHOTECHNIK. *T. A. Barth, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 767.*

MUENSTERBERG, HUGO.

BUSINESS PSYCHOLOGY. *La Salle Extension University, Chicago, 1915, pp. 296, \$2.50.*

PHILLIPS, D. E.

AN ELEMENTARY PSYCHOLOGY. *Ginn & Co., New York, 1913, \$1.20.*

PILLSBURY, W. B.

ESSENTIALS OF PSYCHOLOGY. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1911, pp. 362, \$1.25.*

PILLSBURY, W. B.

FUNDAMENTALS OF PSYCHOLOGY. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1916, pp. 562, \$2.00.*

PINTNER, R., AND PATERSON, D. B.

A SCALE OF PERFORMANCE TESTS. *D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1917, pp. 217, \$2.00.*

ROSS, E. A.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1908, pp. 372, \$1.50.*

SCOTT, WALTER DILL.

HISTORY AND MANUAL OF PERSONNEL WORK IN THE U. S. ARMY. *U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1919, 2 vols., \$1.00 for the set.* This work was written by the various members of the Committee on Classification of Personnel in the Army and is an authoritative account of the methods employed by the War Department in handling personnel in the world war.

SCOTT, WALTER DILL.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PUBLIC SPEAKING. *Hinds, Hayden and Eldridge, New York, 1907, pp. 222, \$1.25.*

SCOTT, WALTER DILL.

INCREASING HUMAN EFFICIENCY. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1911, pp. 338, \$1.50.*

SCOTT, WALTER DILL.

INFLUENCING MEN IN BUSINESS. *Ronald Press, New York, 1916, pp. 168, \$1.50.*

SCRIPTURE, E. W.

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY. *Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1898, pp. 500, \$1.25.*

SCRIPTURE, E. W.

THINKING, FEELING AND DOING. *G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1907, pp. 266, \$1.75.*

SEASHORE, C. E.

PSYCHOLOGY IN EVERY-DAY LIFE. *D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1914, pp. 225, \$1.75.*

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SIDEX, BORIS.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SUGGESTION. *D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1906, pp. 386, \$1.75.*

SIMPSON, B. R.

CORRELATION OF MENTAL ABILITIES. *Columbia University Contributions to Education, 1912, pp. 122, \$1.25.*

STARCH, DANIEL.

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1920, pp. 73, \$2.60.*

STRATTON, GEORGE MALCOM.

EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY AND ITS BEARING UPON CULTURE. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1903, pp. 331, \$2.00.*

TERMAN, LEWIS M.

THE MEASUREMENT OF INTELLIGENCE: AN EXPLANATION OF AND A COMPLETE GUIDE FOR THE USE OF THE STANDARD REVISION AND EXTENSION OF THE BINET-SIMON INTELLIGENCE SCALE. *Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1916, pp. 358, \$2.10.*

TERMAN, LEWIS M.

THE STANFORD REVISION AND EXTENSION OF THE BINET-SIMON SCALE FOR MEASURING INTELLIGENCE. *Warwick & York, Baltimore, 1917, pp. 179, \$2.10.*

THORNDIKE, EDWARD LEE.

THE HUMAN NATURE CLUB. *Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1902, pp. 235, \$1.25.* The readers of this elementary work would doubtless desire some of the author's more advanced works after the completion of this introductory one.

THORNDIKE, E. L.

MENTAL AND SOCIAL MEASUREMENTS. *Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1913, pp. 271, \$1.50.*

TITCHENER, E. B.

A BEGINNER'S PSYCHOLOGY. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1917, pp. 362, \$1.50.*

WITMER, LIGHTMER.

ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY. *Ginn & Co., New York, 1902, pp. 251, \$1.50.*

WOODWORTH, ROBERT SESSIONS.

DYNAMIC PSYCHOLOGY. *Columbia University Press, New York, 1918, pp. 210, \$1.50.*

WOOLLEY, H. T., AND FISCHER, C. R.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS OF WORKING CHILDREN. *Psychological Review Publications Co., Princeton, N.J. (Monograph Supplement, v. 18), 1914, pp. 247.*

WUNDT, WILHELM.

OUTLINES OF PSYCHOLOGY. *G. E. Stechert & Co., New York, 1902, pp. 342, \$2.00.*

WUNDT, WILHELM.

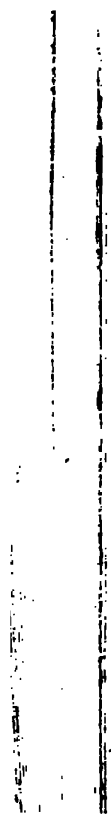
HUMAN AND ANIMAL PSYCHOLOGY. *Macmillan Co., New York, 1894, pp. 454, \$2.60.*

YERKES, R. M., BRIDGES, J. W., AND HARDWICK, R. S.

A POINT SCALE FOR MEASURING MENTAL ABILITY. *Warwick & York, Baltimore, 1915, pp. 218, \$1.25.*

YOAKUM, CLARENCE S., AND YERKES, ROBERT M.

ARMY MENTAL TESTS. *Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1920, pp. 308, \$1.50.* A complete account of mental testing in the army during the world war, including the forms used, the methods, and the practical applications of the results.





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